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Committee on Un-American Activities
 House
 86th Congress

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US Doc 2 791
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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO

(SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO—Part 2)

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 18, 19, AND 20, 1959

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * * 17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * * * * *
(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.
* * * * * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * * * *
18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * * * * *
26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO

(SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO—PART 2)

Public hearings on Communist activities among Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City and in Puerto Rico were held in New York City on November 16 and 17,¹ and in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on November 18, 19, and 20, 1959.

In opening the hearings in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Congressman William M. Tuck, chairman of the subcommittee which conducted the hearings, stated:

This subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities has come to Puerto Rico to discharge a duty imposed by the United States Congress, namely, to develop factual information for the Congress in its endeavors to cope with the Communist conspiracy. We come here as friends in an enterprise which ought to be the concern of all freedom-loving people everywhere irrespective of wherever they may reside.

From past experience we know that the Communist propagandists will attempt to pervert the purpose of these hearings into an investigation of Puerto Ricans. We are not investigating Puerto Ricans as Puerto Ricans. We are pursuing the trail of the few dangerous Communists who are part and parcel of a world conspiracy which would destroy freedom.

One of the most insidious aspects of communism is its deceit. It pretends to be the friend of the workingman but where it has seized power the workingman is crushed under its despotic heel. He finds himself regimented and disciplined. He may find himself in a slave labor camp. It pretends to seek peace and yet it is at war with free people everywhere. Communism masquerades behind a facade of humanitarianism but it has caused more bloodshed and misery than any other force in the history of civilization.

The strength of the Communist operation in any area is not in proportion to its numbers. A conspiratorial force may actually weaken itself when it increases its size. It takes only one or two holes in a ship to sink it. It, likewise, takes only a few trained, disciplined zealots to undermine and weaken a nation or a free society.

Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of Customs at the port of New York, accompanied by his administrative assistant, Miss Eleanor

¹ See "Communist Activities Among Puerto Ricans in New York City and Puerto Rico" (New York City, Part 1).

Suske, and by John Pelaez of the office of the Collector of Customs at New York, testified that pursuant to a request by the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, the Customs Service made a detailed study of Communist propaganda coming into Puerto Rico, both for in-transit purposes, that is, for dissemination elsewhere, and for the purpose of dissemination in Puerto Rico. Mr. Fishman displayed to the subcommittee numerous Communist propaganda publications in Spanish which had been sent to Puerto Rico either for dissemination there or in transit for other Spanish-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Fishman stated:

From an examination of this material, we have gathered that current plans are to increase the publishing and printing of all types of propaganda materials in the Spanish language and to send millions of these publications into South America and the Caribbean area.

The current propaganda apparatus is directing a concentrated attempt to subvert South American governments and secure Communist victories in these areas. The main theme of the material issued is anti-United States. This stepped-up drive is reported to involve a cost of over \$100 million.

Mr. Fishman characterized Puerto Rico as "a nerve center for the transhipment or dissemination of Communist propaganda in the Spanish language to South American countries."

Restituto Ortiz, an inspector at the United States Customs Office in San Juan, testified that he recently inspected certain property which was being brought into San Juan by Jose Enamorado Cuesta, who was returning to Puerto Rico from Europe. He identified as part of this property, the custody of which he had transferred to the committee pursuant to a subpenea, a number of Communist propaganda publications, diary of Jose Enamorado Cuesta, and the minutes of a meeting in Moscow in which was formed a new international organization, the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Co-operation With the Countries of Latin America.

Jose Enamorado Cuesta appeared in response to a subpenea. There was displayed to Mr. Enamorado Cuesta his diary, handwritten in Spanish, which had been taken from him at the time of his return to Puerto Rico from Europe, and Mr. Enamorado Cuesta was asked a number of questions respecting a series of entries in the diary. These entries included an account of a recent trip by him in which he was in Communist sessions in Paris, Stockholm, Helsinki, various cities in Soviet Russia, and in London.

There was likewise displayed to Mr. Enamorado Cuesta the minutes, which had been taken from him at the time of his return to Puerto Rico from Europe, of a meeting in Moscow in which was formed the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America, and Mr. Enamorado Cuesta was asked a number of questions based on the minutes which reflected that the purpose of the association was the Communist

penetration of the Spanish-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Speaking through an interpreter, Mr. Enamorado Cuesta refused to answer all the foregoing questions, alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico. He likewise refused to answer whether he was at the time of the hearing a member of the Communist Party and questions respecting his current activities.

Manuel Arroyo Zeppenfeldt appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, identified himself as a commission agent. Mr. Arroyo Zeppenfeldt's attention was directed to certain entries made in the diary of Jose Enamorado Cuesta indicating that during Mr. Enamorado Cuesta's recent trip to Moscow he had been in frequent correspondence, exchanging information with "Manuel Arroyo." Mr. Arroyo Zeppenfeldt was asked if he had been in contact with Mr. Enamorado Cuesta during the latter's recent trip to Moscow, but he refused to answer alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico.

There was displayed to Mr. Arroyo Zeppenfeldt a copy of *Pueblo*, and he was asked if he was the printer, publisher, or producer of the publication. Mr. Arroyo Zeppenfeldt refused to answer the question and also the question as to whether he was, at the time of the hearing, a member of the Communist Party, alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico.

Juan Saez Corales appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, identified himself as a salesman of office equipment and commercial machinery. There was displayed to Mr. Saez Corales a copy of an application filed by him for a post office box, pursuant to which a specific box number was issued to him. Mr. Saez Corales was questioned respecting a number of messages received by him via the post office box from Communist functionaries in New York City, Bucharest, Buenos Aires, and Vera Cruz, Mexico. He was likewise questioned by the committee respecting a number of Communist publications sent to him via said box. Mr. Saez Corales refused to answer all of the questions of the committee alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico.

Detective Mildred Blauvelt, of the Bureau of Special Services of the New York City Police Department, testified respecting her prior service as an undercover agent of the New York Police Department in the Communist Party, in which she acquired vital information respecting Communist activities among Puerto Ricans. Her testimony in the instant hearings was based not only on her one-time service as an undercover agent in the Communist Party (until November of 1951) but also on extensive experience as a student of the Communist conspiracy.

Detective Blauvelt explained the function and objective of each of several Communist propaganda publications which were in circulation in Puerto Rico. Based upon her extensive background and experience, Detective Blauvelt warned that the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America "is meant to be a party front propaganda organization dominated by Moscow and is meant to be a link between the party and the people of Latin America."

Detective Blauvelt discussed the pattern of operation which could be expected to be followed by this new organization in the furtherance of Moscow's designs on Latin America. She stated:

For instance, such an organization would have to be broad enough in scope to appeal to the masses to meet with any degree of success, and the party apparatus would be put into motion to achieve that success. National organizations would have to be established in each country to be involved, and branches would have to be established in various sections of these countries, particularly in large cities.

Individuals other than party members would be invited to head this organization at its various levels for the purpose of giving this organization the aura of legitimacy and respectability, and well-meaning individuals who are well known to the public at large would be solicited to lend their endorsement, their support, and sponsorship to such an organization to add to the prestige of the organization.

However, in all of this, the party would see that its party members who are well versed in party organizational work would be placed in the executive positions in this organization, so that the organization would have the proper guidance to follow the party line and thus guarantee that party policies were being carried out within the organization and that its activities reflected party propaganda.

Continuing, Detective Blauvelt said:

The branches which this organization would necessarily have to establish in the various parts of the country might appear to be autonomous in their particular area, but they would be subject to the control of the national organization, and they would have to receive their directives, obey and follow the directives from the national body, make their reports to the national body, and even remit a certain percentage of any money which they collected on behalf of this front organization.

In order to launch this organization properly, it would have to be brought to the attention of the public, and this would be done either through the Communist press, itself, or through those publications which have a very liberal viewpoint, or even in any other paper which is willing to accept their material.

Communist Party members would be mobilized to distribute leaflets which would be in advertisement of such an organization. The organization itself would issue a pamphlet explaining its policies. Now, of course, all press releases, all leaflets, all pamphlets, would describe the organization in the broadest terms of the peoples' desire for friendship and cultural relationships with the Soviet Union.

Juan Emmannelli Morales appeared in response to a subpoena. Mr. Emmannelli Morales was asked a series of questions respecting his recent voluntary appearance at the offices of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D.C., in which he offered himself as a friendly witness to testify in the instant hearings respecting the

activities of a number of people known by him to be members of the Communist Party. In the instant hearings, however, Mr. Emmanuelli Morales refused to answer all questions on the ground that the committee had no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico. Mr. Emmanuelli Morales was asked a series of questions in an attempt to elicit from him the reasons for his change in position in regard to his testimony, but he persisted in his refusal to answer the questions.

George C. Williams, an investigator of the committee, testified that Juan Emmanuelli Morales voluntarily appeared at the offices of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D.C., a few days prior to the instant hearings and that during the ensuing interview Mr. Emmanuelli Morales stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party working among Puerto Ricans in New York City until 1949 or 1950, when he returned to Puerto Rico where he joined the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, in which he served until 1953. Mr. Williams further testified that among the persons whom Mr. Emmanuelli Morales identified in the interview as members of the Communist Party was Gertrudis Melendez Perez. Mr. Emmanuelli Morales agreed, during the interview, to a subsequent meeting with Mr. Williams in Puerto Rico in advance of the instant hearings in order to discuss further the testimony which he expected to give; and although Mr. Williams made several attempts to reach Mr. Emmanuelli Morales to conduct the interview in Puerto Rico, he was unable to make contact with him.

Gertrudis Melendez Perez appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, stated that her occupation was a domestic employee. Her attention was directed in the interrogation to the fact that Juan Emmanuelli Morales had identified her in an interview as a member of the Communist Party, but Miss Melendez Perez refused to comment when asked if Mr. Emmanuelli Morales' identification was true. She likewise refused to answer whether she was, at the time of the hearing, a member of the Communist Party and to acknowledge authorship of certain articles appearing with her byline in *Pueblo*, alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction to hold the investigation.

Consuelo Burgos De Pagan appeared in response to a subpoena and stated that she was a lawyer admitted to practice in Puerto Rico. There was displayed to the witness a series of articles appearing in Communist publications during the last several years in which she was identified as educational director of the Puerto Rican Communist Party and in which were set forth a number of Communist activities by her. In response to all questions, including the question as to whether she was, at the time of the hearing, a member of the Communist Party, Mrs. Burgos De Pagan refused to answer alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.

Pablo M. Garcia Rodriguez appeared in response to a subpoena and identified himself as an attorney living in San Juan, Puerto Rico. There were displayed to Mr. Garcia Rodriguez articles from the Communist Daily Worker bearing his byline and identifying him as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, but Mr. Garcia Rodriguez refused to answer questions respecting his activities or membership in the Communist Party, alleging that the committee did not have jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.

Cesar Andreu Iglesias appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, stated that he was a writer by profession. There were displayed to Mr. Andreu Iglesias articles bearing his byline in the Communist Daily Worker, but Mr. Andreu Iglesias refused to answer questions respecting the articles, whether he was at the time of the hearing a member of the Communist Party, or with respect to contacts by him with the high echelon of the Communist Party in New York City, alleging that the committee did not have jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.

Ramon Diaz Cruz appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, stated that his principal occupation is "to struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, for the welfare of the working class, and for world peace." The attention of Mr. Diaz Cruz was directed to an article from *Pueblo* in which he is identified as the editor of a publication entitled "La Paz." Mr. Diaz Cruz refused to answer questions respecting his identification as editor or director of La Paz, whether he was at the time of the hearing a member of the Communist Party, and whether, as indicated in an article appearing in *Pueblo*, he attended the World Peace Congress in Stockholm, Sweden, alleging that the committee did not have jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.

John Peter Hawes appeared in response to a subpoena and stated that his occupation was a builder of musical instruments. Mr. Hawes' attention was directed to a bulletin of the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies, in which he was listed as a onetime lecturer on Latin American affairs. Mr. Hawes' attention was also directed to the report made to the committee by former F.B.I. undercover agent Herbert Philbrick that he knew Hawes as a member of the white collar professional group of the Communist Party in Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Hawes refused to answer all questions, including the question as to whether or not he was, at the time of the hearing, a member of the Communist Party, alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.

Frank Ruiz appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, stated that he was secretary-treasurer of the Packinghouse Workers Union, AFL-CIO. In response to the question as to whether he was, at the time of the hearing, a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Ruiz refused to answer, alleging that the committee lacked jurisdiction to conduct the investigation in Puerto Rico.

Juan Santos Rivera appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, stated that he was a carpenter by occupation. Mr. Santos Rivera's attention was directed to a number of Communist publications in which he was identified as delegate from Puerto Rico to the Communist International in the Soviet Union, where he remained for almost 2 years; as chairman of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico; and as the current president of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Communist Party.

There were likewise displayed to Mr. Santos Rivera copies of articles authored by him in Communist publications attacking the Government of the United States and propagating the Communist Party line. In response to all questions, however, Mr. Santos Rivera refused to answer, alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.

Diego L. Martin, Jr., a Deputy United States Marshal in Puerto Rico, testified that there were transmitted to him by the Committee on Un-American Activities a number of subpoenas, commanding the appearance of persons in the instant hearings; that included in the subpoenas to be served were subpoenas for Eugenio Arbona Cuevas, Ramon Mirabal Carrion, and Juan A. Corretjer; that from confidential sources of information he learned that Juan Antonio Corretjer had gone first to Venezuela and later to Cuba; that Eugenio Arbona Cuevas and Ramon Mirabal Carrion had gone to Cuba; but that all three were nevertheless residents of Puerto Rico.

Cristino Perez Mendez appeared in response to a subpoena and, testifying through an interpreter, stated that his occupation was a carpenter. Mr. Perez Mendez was informed by the committee that it was the committee's information that he is part of the group of 12 activists of the Communist conspiracy in Puerto Rico of the more fanatical fringe, who are dedicated to pursuing a course of activity, with no restraint whatsoever, in accordance with any directive received. Mr. Perez Mendez was then asked a series of questions respecting his activities and whether he was, at the instant of the hearings, a member of the Communist Party. In response to all questions, however, Mr. Perez Mendez refused to answer, alleging that the committee had no jurisdiction to conduct hearings in Puerto Rico.

CONCLUSION

The evidence is clear that the international Communist conspiracy is intensifying its efforts to penetrate Puerto Rican nationality groups in New York City and Puerto Ricans on the island of Puerto Rico. This operation is one maneuver in a master campaign to further Communist objectives among Spanish-speaking peoples in the Western Hemisphere. The artillery in this campaign, involving an estimated expenditure of \$100 million, is Communist Spanish-language propaganda which is being disseminated, with Puerto Rico as a nerve center for its dissemination.

It is likewise clear from the evidence that the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America is a new international Communist front created and controlled by the Kremlin as a vehicle for accomplishing its objectives in Latin America. While the association masquerades behind the facade of "cultural cooperation," it is designed by the Kremlin to extend Communist influence into every fabric of Latin America.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO

(San Juan, Puerto Rico—Part 2)

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
San Juan, Puerto Rico.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a. m. in the U.S. Courthouse, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Hon. William M. Tuck (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives William M. Tuck, of Virginia, and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams and William Margetich, investigators; and Fulton Lewis III, research analyst.

Also present: Donald F. Barnes, senior interpreter, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will be in order.

Counsel, let there be incorporated in the body of the record the resolution of the Committee on Un-American Activities authorizing and directing the holding of the instant hearings in San Juan.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, to be held in Puerto Rico, in New York City, and elsewhere as the Chairman may direct, on such date or dates as the Chairman may determine, be authorized and approved, including the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to the following matters and having the legislative purposes indicated:

1. Entry and dissemination in Puerto Rico of foreign Communist Party propaganda, the legislative purpose being to determine the necessity for, and advisability of amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act designed more effectively to counteract the Communist schemes and devices now used in avoiding the prohibitions of the Act.

2. Receipt of information relating to persons engaged in foreign travel, the legislative purpose being:

(a) Committee consideration of amendments to Sec. 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act as contained in Title IX—Immigration and Passport Security—of H.R. 2232, introduced on January 12, 1959, and referred by the House of Representatives to the Committee on Un-American Activities;

(b) Consideration of legislative recommendations expressing the will and intent of Congress spelled out in direct and positive form, granting authority to the Secretary of State to issue, withhold, or limit passports for international travel of adherents to the Communist Party, and the granting of specific statutory authority, to the Secretary of State to issue substantive regulations in the passport field, as set forth in the annual reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the years 1956-1958.

3. The extent, character and objects of Communist infiltration and Communist Party propaganda activities in Puerto Rico, the legislative purpose being to add to the Committee's overall knowledge on the subject so that the Congress may be kept informed and thus prepared to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security.

4. The execution by the administrative agencies concerned of all laws and regulations relating to the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Passport Regulations, and all other laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the Committee, the legislative purpose being to exercise continuous watchfulness over the execution of these laws to assist the Congress in appraising their administration, and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary.

5. Any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee hereof appointed to conduct these hearings may designate.

Mr. TUCK. Let there likewise be incorporated in the body of the record the order of appointment of the subcommittee to conduct the hearings, the order of Chairman Walter.

(The order referred to follows:)

OCTOBER 6, 1959.

To: Mr. Richard Arens, staff director, House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representative William M. Tuck, as Chairman, and Representatives Morgan M. Moulder and Gordon H. Scherer as associate members, to conduct hearings in New York, New York, Monday and Tuesday, November 16 and 17, 1959, at 10:00 a.m., and in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, November 18, 19, and 20, 1959, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the Committee and take such testimony on said days or succeeding days as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 6th day of October 1959.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,
Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. TUCK. The hearings which begin today in San Juan are in furtherance of the powers and duties of the Committee on Un-American Activities, pursuant to Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress which not only establishes the basic jurisdiction of the committee, but also mandates this committee, along with other standing committees of the Congress, to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of any laws the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee.

In response to this power and duty, the Committee on Un-American Activities is continuously in the process of accumulating factual information respecting Communists, the Communist Party, and Communist activities which will enable the committee and the Congress to appraise the administration and operation of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and numerous provisions of the Criminal Code relating to espionage, sabotage, and subversion.

In addition, the committee has before it numerous proposals to strengthen our legislative weapons designed to protect the internal security of this Nation.

In the course of the last few years, as a result of hearings and investigations, this committee has made over 80 separate recommendations for legislative action. Legislation has been passed by the Congress embracing 35 of the committee recommendations and 26 separate proposals are currently pending in the Congress on subjects covered by other committee recommendations. Moreover, in the course of the last few years numerous recommendations made by the committee for administrative action have been adopted by the executive agencies of the Government.

This subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities has come to Puerto Rico to discharge a duty imposed by the United States Congress, namely, to develop factual information for the Congress in its endeavors to cope with the Communist conspiracy. We come here as friends in an enterprise which ought to be the concern of all freedom-loving people everywhere, irrespective of wherever they may reside.

From past experience we know that the Communist propagandists will attempt to pervert the purpose of these hearings into an investigation of Puerto Ricans. We are not investigating Puerto Ricans as Puerto Ricans. We are pursuing the trail of the few dangerous Communists who are part and parcel of a world conspiracy which would destroy freedom.

We do not expect to interrogate here every Communist on the island. We only expect to make a sampling of Communist activity here so that we will be able to know the pattern of the Communist conspiracy's efforts in this area and its connections with the Communist conspiracy on the mainland.

One of the most insidious aspects of communism is its deceit. It pretends to be the friend of the working man, but where it has seized power the working man is crushed under its despotic heel. He finds himself regimented and disciplined. He may find himself in a slave labor camp. It pretends to seek peace and yet it is at war with free people everywhere. Communism masquerades behind a facade of humanitarianism but it has caused more bloodshed and misery than any other force in the history of civilization.

The strength of the Communist operation in any area is not in proportion to its numbers. A conspiratorial force may actually weaken itself when it increases its size. It takes only one or two holes in a ship to sink it. It, likewise, takes only a few trained, disciplined zealots to undermine and weaken a nation or a free society.

What are the present strategies and tactics of the Communist operation in this general area? What techniques are the hard-core Communists pursuing in order to avoid detection as they pursue their nefarious work? What are the lines of control and communication between the various Communists' nests here and on the mainland? What loopholes or weaknesses exist in our present security laws? How may those laws be strengthened?

These questions shall be uppermost in the minds of the committee as we elicit testimony during these hearings.

May I emphasize that the purpose of the subcommittee here in San Juan is to sample factual material with reference to types and patterns of activity, and not to attempt to exhaust the subject matter. We have not subpoenaed witnesses for these hearings merely to put

on a show, nor shall we attempt to interrogate in these hearings even a significant percentage of all possible witnesses on whom we have compiled information.

It is a standing rule of this committee that any person identified as a member of the Communist Party during the course of the committee hearings will be given an early opportunity to appear before this committee, if he so desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him, or which he may think adversely affects him.

It is also the policy of the committee to accord any witness the privilege of being represented by counsel; but within the provisions of the rules of this committee, counsel's sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise his client.

I would remind those present that a disturbance of any kind, or an audible comment during the hearings, will not be permitted. This is a serious proceeding in which we are earnestly trying to discharge an important and arduous duty.

Does the gentleman from Ohio at this time care to make any comment?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, while you have mentioned it, I do not think we can emphasize too strongly that we are not engaged in investigating Puerto Ricans as such, or any political activity or any organization within the Puerto Rican community, as such.

As you pointed out in your statement we are primarily interested, as this committee has always been, in investigating the activities of members of the Communist conspiracy as they operate within the different fields of activity in American life. There are no more, or less, Communists in Puerto Rico than there are in the United States. United States.

This committee has sat in all of the principal cities of the United States, and wherever it has gone, as you pointed out, the Communist apparatus has attempted to pervert the purposes of this committee.

I remember when we went into Gary, Indiana, the Communists there said that we were investigating labor, as such. When we went into one of the smaller towns and investigated the penetration by Communist agents into the field of education, we were charged with interfering with education, and so it was when we went into Hollywood—we were charged with investigating the entertainment field in this country.

As an example, there is an organization on the mainland called the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. That committee is Communist dominated, Communist controlled. Its president is Harvey O'Connor, a dedicated, hard-core, identified Communist. He is now under indictment.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has followed the Un-American Activities Committee into almost every city in which it has had hearings in the continental United States. In fact, it has come there in advance. Its agent came into Puerto Rico and he is here today. He has been here. He is Clark Foreman.

His purpose is to come into this community, as he has into almost every community in which this committee has had hearings, and misrepresent the purposes of this committee, to stir up hatred and ill will against the Congress of the United States.

I consider that man more dangerous and disloyal to the United States than any witness we might question here, and he is not a Puerto Rican.

I just wanted to make it clear, the purpose of this investigation.

MR. CLARK FOREMAN. May I object to this defamation without—

MR. TUCK. The gentleman is out of order. If you care to testify, you will probably be summoned.

MR. SCHERER. I would like, in view of what I have said, to ask our counsel, Mr. Arens, to just tell briefly what this Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is, its history, and what we know about it—this committee which has its representative here and who just violated the rules of this committee by making the outburst in the committee room.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, pursuant to the request of the Congressman from Ohio, I am pleased to respond that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is one of numerous organizations which has been created by the Communist conspiracy. The title, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, is very appealing.

The Communists do just that. They pick out appealing titles to give to what have been called front organizations. A front organization is a group which has been created or controlled by the Communist conspirators. Not all people in the front organizations are Communists; indeed, the practice is for the Communists to try to get into this organization, or a front organization, as many non-Communists as they can fool or deceive.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which is today represented on the island by Clark Foreman, and who has been making statements, we understand, on the radio, in the press, and elsewhere, has been carefully investigated by the United States Senate Committee on Internal Security, and that committee, after a careful investigation, made a finding that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is controlled by the Communist conspiracy.

The House Un-American Activities Committee likewise made a study of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and made a finding that it is controlled by the Communist conspiracy, that it is a Communist front. The House Committee on Un-American Activities issued several years ago a pamphlet entitled "Operation Abolition," in which it tells in detail about the activities of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, whose principal aims are to destroy the security system of the United States, and to hamstring the Federal Bureau of Investigation and this Committee on Un-American Activities in their work against the Communist conspiracy.

The principal driving force of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is a man by the name of Frank Wilkinson, who has been repeatedly identified under oath by responsible witnesses of unimpeachable integrity as a Communist agent. Frank Wilkinson has been indicted, tried, and convicted, and sentenced for contempt of this committee in proceedings in Atlanta, Georgia.

There are others who are Communists who are the driving, controlling force of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that would fairly well characterize this organization which has come to the island here, as it has other places, prior to the committee hearing in order to pervert the purposes of this

committee and to try to create a sentiment among the fine people of Puerto Rico hostile to the work of this committee—a work that is tedious, frustrating, and in which we are dealing with dangerous people who would deprive the good people of Puerto Rico, as well as the good people of the continental United States, of their liberties.

Mr. FOREMAN. Now may I object, Mr. Chairman, to this defamation?

Mr. TUCK. You are out of order. If you get up again, I am going to ask the marshal to eject you from this room.

Counsel, call your first witness, please.

Mr. ARENS. The first witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Irving Fishman, who is accompanied by two of his associates.

Mr. Irving Fishman, as he will identify himself in a moment, is with the United States Customs Service, in charge of the study of Communist propaganda as it crosses the borders of the United States.

Mr. Fishman, will you and your colleagues kindly stand while the chairman administers an oath?

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hands, please?

Do you and each of you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FISHMAN. I do.

Miss SUSKE. I do.

Mr. PELAEZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING FISHMAN, ELEANOR SUSKE, AND JOHN PELAEZ

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, will you please on this record identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. FISHMAN. My name is Irving Fishman. I live in New York, and I am Deputy Collector of Customs at the Port of New York.

Mr. ARENS. Give us just a word about your background and your duties, please, sir.

Mr. FISHMAN. I have had some 30-odd years of service in the United States Treasury Department. My function on behalf of the Treasury is to set up procedures and methods of enforcing those provisions of law which deal with the importation into the United States of subversive material.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, may I pause and ask each of your colleagues to identify themselves.

The lady on your left—would you kindly identify yourself?

Miss SUSKE. My name is Eleanor Suske. I reside in New York City, where I am employed in the office of the Collector of Customs as administrative assistant to Deputy Collector Irving Fishman.

Mr. ARENS. So that the record will reflect the correct spelling of your name, how is your last name spelled?

Miss SUSKE. S-u-s-k-e.

Mr. ARENS. And will the gentleman on Mr. Fishman's right, likewise identify himself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. PELAEZ. My name is John Pelaez. I live in New York. I am assigned to the Collector's Office in the Port of New York, and I translate—

Mr. ARENS. Would you raise your voice, please?

Mr. PELAEZ. I examine and report on foreign publications in my particular language field.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly, for the record, spell your last name?

Mr. PELAEZ. P-e-l-a-e-z.

Mr. ARENS. And your first name is John?

Mr. PELAEZ. John.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that as I pose the questions on this subject matter, that any one of the three witnesses who have all been sworn might respond, if the information which they have is responsive to the question.

Mr. Fishman, may I proceed first of all by asking you if the Committee on Un-American Activities, in the discharge of its official duties to develop factual information on this Communist conspiracy, did some several months ago solicit your good offices and the Office of the United States Customs Service to make a detailed study of Communist propaganda which is coming into Puerto Rico, both for in-transit purposes, that is, for dissemination elsewhere, and for the purpose of dissemination here on the island?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Before you give us any information on the results of your study, give us just a word about where you went or had your people go, and the essence of your study techniques.

Mr. FISHMAN. The United States Customs Service, in conjunction with the Post Office Department, has set up three major control units in the United States. The one we operated from is the control unit at New Orleans, Louisiana, through which most of the mail matter destined for the island of Puerto Rico flows.

So we made our investigation in New Orleans, came through Tampa and Miami into San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, I believe the most expeditious manner in which you can present the facts of your study and investigation and the study and investigation which the United States postal authorities conducted in connection with the request of the Committee on Un-American Activities, would be to permit you, if you please, sir, and invite you to proceed with the presentation of the factual material.

Again I say if either of your colleagues can implement or supplement what you are saying, we certainly invite them to do so at the appropriate time.

Mr. FISHMAN. As the Committee on Un-American Activities is aware, the United States Customs Service concerns itself with the examination of merchandise imported into the United States. The Post Office Department has similar responsibilities with regard to the mails.

In the course of our work, the Customs Service has, as a matter of law, the responsibility for enforcing those prohibitions contained in Federal statutes which deal with imported merchandise. As an example, there is a provision in the Tariff Act of 1930 which prohibits the importation of treasonable material, material which invites insurrection against the United States or advocates the overthrow of the United States Government.

There is also a responsibility with respect to printed materials and other publications determined to contain foreign political Communist propaganda. This responsibility, we believe, is shared with the Post

Office Department and is based to a degree upon the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

This Act is directed primarily at forcing disclosures by persons who act within the United States as propaganda agents for foreign governments or foreign political parties. A second purpose, more relevant here, is to require the proper labeling of foreign political propaganda in order to insure that the American public can properly appraise and evaluate this material disseminated by these agents in the light of their foreign relationships.

Based upon the Foreign Agents Registration Act and decisions of the Attorney General supplementing and explaining the provisions thereof, registered agents who disseminate political propaganda are required to identify the same as to source.

It may be of interest to the committee to know that during the first half of 1959, 4,500,000 items of printed political propaganda from the Soviet bloc countries were reviewed by our control units. This volume is easily understood when we observe from reports of the United States Information Agency that the U.S.S.R. has indicated a proposal to increase its printing plant in the Soviet Union by an expenditure of over \$200 million.

So much for the background of the activity of our respective agencies.

I would like to note here for the committee's information that we have just installed a control unit at the Port of New Orleans, La. This arrangement was made necessary in order to cope with the increasing quantities of propaganda materials shipped through this port. I shall expand on this problem somewhat later.

At the request of the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a survey has just been completed of the mails directed from the Soviet Union and from friendly countries to the island of Puerto Rico. The situation here in Puerto Rico is somewhat unusual in that a great deal of the propaganda mail directed to this area originates in Latin American countries, particularly Mexico.

Such mail is sent, for example, from Mexico through New Orleans, La., to Puerto Rico. It may be of general interest to the committee to know that foreign mail is carried in-transit through the United States pursuant to a principle of the Universal Postal Union Convention. This, in effect, guarantees the freedom of transit for such parcels or packages of mail from a foreign country into Puerto Rico.

In-transit mail is considered to be closed mail, and is required under the principles of this convention to be dispatched or cross our country without examination. This is by a reciprocal agreement, and members of the Universal Postal Union pay each other for the handling of in-transit mail according to an established schedule.

The Soviet Union is a member of this convention. In conducting the survey requested by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, we selected for a sample some 300 sacks of mail en route through New Orleans, La., to this area.

Mr. ARENS. By that you mean to Puerto Rico?

Mr. FISHMAN. To Puerto Rico. There was available for examination during this period some 8,000 sacks. We also selected, for sampling, mail destined for Puerto Rico directly from Soviet Union

countries, and samples of this material are available for examination by members of the subcommittee.

We would like to point out that a more extensive sampling would have been difficult unless additional personnel were assigned to the project. The committee will appreciate that as a result of testimony previously given before it, a great deal of mail flows through the Port of New Orleans.

We estimate from surveys made that some 150,000 packages containing 300,000 items of political propaganda are sent in transit yearly through the Port of New Orleans. An examination of the samples available here would indicate that many are in the Spanish language.

In order that the committee may be in a position to read some of the material, we have included translations and also sample publications in the English language. In almost every instance, major propaganda periodicals and publications are printed in practically every language known in the world.

The contents of current propaganda publications have changed considerably in recent weeks, due in a great measure to the proposed summit meetings. This change is reflected mainly in the pronouncements of the Soviet Government. It is interesting, for example, to note a statement in the newspaper Moscow News of September 2, 1959. This is headed "No Anti-American Propaganda in the U.S.S.R." Mr. Khrushchev asserted:

It is absolutely wrong to assert that propaganda has been conducted in the Soviet Union against the United States of America. I am stating this now, and I shall repeat it during my visit to the United States. Never has there been any propaganda in the Soviet Union against the U.S.A. We have carried on propaganda, and shall continue to do so in the future only against the militarists, against the saber rattling generals, and the monopolists advocating cold war. Soviet newspapers, statesmen and the Soviet people have spoken out against them. However, no one in the U.S.S.R. has ever spoken out against the U.S.A. as a state, or against the American people. We have never had such propaganda and never shall have.

Although many of the Soviet publications now adhere to the above principle, insofar as the Soviet Government is concerned, the fact is that the party press publications still continue to spread Communist doctrines through its front organizations.

The press section of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee in Moscow, as well as the corresponding sections of the subordinate committees, are in full operation. The products of these organizations are the so-called "Agitprop" materials, directed to the uneducated masses and making single, important points.

There are three sections of this Agitprop. One takes care of central publications. The second is concerned with publications of the federated republics and other territories, while the third deals with the local press.

The central section of agitation and propaganda in Moscow exercises continual supervision of these three functions. Each Communist Party has its own Agitprop section so that a great deal of the material which emanates from Mexico, for example, is prepared by the Communist Party. The balance of the material is of the information bulletin variety, published by the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Mexico.

From an examination of this material, we have gathered that current plans are to increase the publishing and printing of all types of

propaganda materials in the Spanish language and to send millions of these publications into South America and the Caribbean area.

The current propaganda apparatus is directing a concentrated attempt to subvert South American governments and secure Communist victories in these areas. The main theme of the material issued is anti-United States. This stepped-up drive is reported to involve a cost of over \$100 million.

Mr. ARENS. \$100 million over what period of time?

Mr. FISHMAN. For this present campaign, which is right now in force.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your estimate that the present propaganda campaign by the international Communist apparatus directed to the Latin American countries costs approximately \$100 million?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. As authority for it, U.S. News & World Report, November 2, 1959, in a dispatch from Montevideo, Uruguay, states:

Working quietly in the free-and-easy atmosphere of Uruguay, the Russians are speeding a build-up of Communist subversion and sabotage throughout the whole of South America.

At least 70 Russian officials are busy in seven different buildings in Montevideo.

The article then continues that the build-up has reached such proportions that the Government of Uruguay is getting ready to crack down and the statement is made that truckloads of pouches stamped "USSR" arrive every day, supposedly containing propaganda materials for distribution throughout South America.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say that was from U.S. News & World Report?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. The article is an interesting one, and some of the highlights referred to include Communist penetration in major South American countries, including Argentina and Bolivia, Chile, Peru, and so forth. The article notes that the Caribbean area has not been ignored.

As we have previously informed the committee, we are in no position to take action against the tremendous influx of in-transit mail. Since we have considered the policy and purpose of the act under which we operate to be for the protection of the national defense and internal security of the United States, it is doubtful whether our interest should extend to dissemination of political propaganda in countries other than the United States, except, perhaps, as it reflects anti-American actions created in these friendly countries by this material shipped through our territory.

In concluding this report, I would like to direct the attention of the committee to a provision in the Universal Postal Union Convention of Brussels in 1952, article 59, paragraph 5, which provides:

Moreover, the right is reserved for any country not to convey in-transit in open mail over its territory, articles, other than letters and postcards, in regard to which the legal provisions regulating the conditions of their publication or circulation in that country have not been observed. Such articles must be returned to the administration of origin.

There is also a proviso in the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 which the House Un-American Activities Committee may wish

to examine. It is section 8(d), which deals with the same subject. It reads:

The Postmaster General may declare to be non-mailable any communication or expression falling within clause (2) of section 1(j) hereof in the form of prints or in any other form reasonably adapted to, or reasonably appearing to be intended for, dissemination or circulation among two or more persons, which is offered or caused to be offered for transmittal in the United States mails to any person or persons in any other American republic by any agent of a foreign principal, if the Postmaster General is informed in writing by the Secretary of State that the duly accredited diplomatic representative of such American republic has made written representation to the Department of State that the admission or circulation of such communication or expression in any such American republic is prohibited by the laws thereof and has requested in writing that its transmittal thereto be stopped.

In other words, the action that could be taken against this tremendous volume of in-transit mail which we carry through our shores can only be controlled through the Secretary of State and through the Secretary of State to the Postmaster General.

It is only in that way that Customs and Post Office can interest themselves in making any attempt to control this flow. At the present moment, we have absolutely no control. We must just watch the material flow by, carried through New Orleans, for example, from railroad to ship and into South America and into this area.

We have some control over material which comes into this area, but not to any South American republic, no matter how anti-American or how vicious the material may be.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, I have a number of questions to ask you in order to clarify the record.

Thank you for your statement. The committee is deeply appreciative of your cooperation, the cooperation of the U.S. Customs Service and the postal authorities in developing this factual material.

Am I clear in my impression from what you have said in your statement that your study of the material coming via the island of Puerto Rico was just a sampling of a few hundred mail sacks?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage, roughly speaking, of the propaganda which actually arrives at the shores here in San Juan, or in Puerto Rico, is in transit to other areas of the Caribbean, and what percentage is for dissemination or distribution here?

We have to, of course, proceed on the basis of percentages, because since you took just a sampling, you don't have total figures.

Mr. FISHMAN. Miss Suske has a report on statistics which will give you some idea of the entire volume.

Mr. ARENS. May I suggest, then, that Miss Suske proceed and give us those statistics or the essence of those? I have notes on a number of questions which I want to propose to you.

Miss SUSKE. From our survey that we had made at the Port of New York, New Orleans and here in San Juan, we would estimate that the amount of Communist propaganda material sent to the island of Puerto Rico in individually addressed mail packages runs about 1,000 pieces a month. However, since most of the mail with which we are concerned originates in New Orleans, the statistics should show that, based on a yearly average, over 260,000 sacks of mail are carried in-transit through the Port of New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. These 260,000 sacks are sacks of Communist propaganda?

Miss SUSKE. Yes; that is right. This includes material destined for Puerto Rico.

Mr. SCHERER. Two hundred how many?

Miss SUSKE. 260,000 sacks.

Mr. SCHERER. For Puerto Rico alone?

Miss SUSKE. No, this comes in transit through New Orleans from the South American countries and from Mexico. Included in the 260,000 sacks is the material that is actually destined for the island of Puerto Rico.

In addition to other merchandise, these sacks are estimated to contain over one million parcels of printed material.

Mr. ARENS. When you say "material" you mean Communist propaganda?

Miss SUSKE. Yes; that is right. The overall figure of 260,000 sacks, of course, would carry other material in addition to the printed Communist material.

I believe Mr. Fishman may have mentioned these figures, that the survey reflected that in this printed material there was included 150,000 packages of Communist propaganda, or an estimated 300,000 individual items.

Mr. ARENS. Have you concluded on your statistical presentation for the moment?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Then I would like to ask this: You have discussed primarily, as I have gathered from your testimony which the committee will want to study with greater care, the Communist propaganda originating in Mexico and coming through the Port of New Orleans, much of which comes in transit through Puerto Rico, some of which is destined for Puerto Rico.

In addition to this propaganda, is Puerto Rico the recipient either for in-transit purposes or for consumption here of Communist propaganda originating not in Mexico, but originating in Europe, behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes, there is a considerable quantity of such material which regularly is destined for this area.

Actually, it is pretty difficult to pin some of this down in the way of statistics. The committee may or may not be aware of the mail situation here on the island. Actually, mail is shipped here by air or by ship, mostly by ship. Generally, ship mail from South America in transit to Puerto Rico is collected at the Port of New Orleans and sent in sealed containers or lift vans by vessel to this area.

The average ship to Puerto Rico brings between 12 and 16 vans containing approximately 100 mail sacks each.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately how often do they arrive?

Mr. FISHMAN. Twice a week. In the three-month period our survey estimated over 120,000 such packages were sent here. To break it down a little better for the island, we took several of these ships, and tried to get an idea of the addressees. Seven of these, or 50 percent of the mail, were destined to the area of San Juan, one for Ponce, one for Santurce, and five, or 26 percent, for the island post offices.

In other words, 12 percent of the mail is destined for the city of Ponce, and 50 percent for San Juan. Actually, our observation is that

the amount of propaganda material sent here is not numerically large in relation to other areas of the United States, where people have heritage in Soviet-bloc countries. Material sent here is on a more selective basis and we think intended definitely for dissemination and redistribution.

Mr. ARENS. When you say "a more selective basis," you mean the key personnel and organizations, do you not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. You won't get the vast bulk of material here, but you will get it sent to individuals who will really redistribute this material, republish it and get it out to the comrades in whatever fashion they see fit.

But compared to what we receive in some of the other areas, like Illinois, New York, Wisconsin, and so on, this area receives a very small quantity.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, may I ask you, so that the record will be clear, a few elemental questions with respect to the Foreign Agents Registration Act and the problems of control.

As I understand it, both from working with you and from your testimony in other areas of the United States, the Foreign Agents Registration Act is designed to cause Communist propaganda which is disseminated to be labeled so that the recipient of the propaganda will know he is reading Communist propaganda, the same as poisonous medicines are so labeled; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. The law does not contemplate that the material will be censored or confiscated, does it?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. Our position has been, and is, and always will be, that the United States Government, through the Post Office and Customs Service, does not intend to ban this material from entering the United States. We see no objection at all to anyone receiving this material for his own purpose, provided it is clearly marked or identified in such a way that he may have an opportunity to evaluate its source and understand from where it has emanated.

Mr. ARENS. The same way that we do on food and drug laws.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct. You made a good point that poisons are labeled, so that some of this material should be labeled.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, in the course of your many years of experience in the United States Customs Service, of the millions of pieces of Communist propaganda that have arrived at the shores of the United States, have you ever seen a single piece, one piece, that is labeled according to the law?

Mr. FISHMAN. With the possible exception of official material sent to the Library of Congress, I have never seen any of it labeled.

Mr. ARENS. This material which you have displayed on the table here today is typical Communist propaganda which is either for dissemination here in Puerto Rico or for transhipment from Puerto Rico as a nerve center to the South American countries; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. The material submitted consists of Communist political propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. On any of this Communist material which you have displayed to the committee on the table as specimens, does there appear any label that the material is Communist propaganda as the Foreign Agents Registration Act requires?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. I have yet to see some of it sent regularly through the mails or by air or freight or by vessel.

Mr. ARENS. It is for that reason, among others, that the Committee on Un-American Activities, as you know, has been pursuing this subject, to try to devise legislation so that this material will be labeled as the law now requires; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, you want to plug up the loopholes in the present Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, will you or one of your colleagues tell us if Communist propaganda originates, say, in Moscow, directed to a designated recipient here in the United States, Mr. X, we will say, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, under the present law does the Customs Service have a right to stop that propaganda or to inspect it?

Mr. FISHMAN. If he has requested it or solicited it or ordered it, we do not stop it.

Mr. ARENS. So none of this propaganda which you are displaying falls in the category of Communist propaganda which emanates behind the Iron Curtain and goes to an individual who has requested it?

Mr. FISHMAN. Most of this present lot arrived in bulk shipments.

Mr. ARENS. This bulk material will be redistributed by some Communist agent or someone in the conspiracy in all probability?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is probably so.

Mr. ARENS. Under the present law, does the Customs Service or the postal authorities have a right to inspect or intercept mail that comes in through the diplomatic immunity?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. ARENS. The diplomatic pouch?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. ARENS. That is another area in which Communist propaganda comes in?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Does the U.S. Customs Service have any control over Communist propaganda which is disseminated in either Puerto Rico or continental United States which is developed from printing plates, which are first developed in Soviet Russia or in some other Communist country?

Mr. FISHMAN. Neither the Post Office Department nor the Customs Service has any control over that material.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't have any control either over propaganda that comes by first-class mail?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. We have no control over that either.

Mr. ARENS. You are familiar, are you not, with some of the legislative proposals that are pending before the committee, so that we can tighten up, or try to tighten up, at least, on this dissemination of Communist propaganda.

One of the principal proposals, as you know, and I want our record today to reflect, is a proposal to require this material to be labeled before it actually arrives on the shores of the United States or Puerto Rico.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. In your judgment, based upon your many years of experience in studying this Communist propaganda which is coming into the United States, would that help make available to the recipients information that he is reading Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. We believe so. We think it will give us the authority we need to exercise proper control.

Mr. ARENS. Most of this Communist propaganda is rather subtle, is it not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. The individual recipient may be a person who does not know much about communism, may not know much about the world Communist conspiracy, and might read any one of these publications and think he is reading something that is for the good of humanity.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. He would not realize that he is reading something that is subtly designed to woo him within the orbit of this force which has caused so much human suffering over this world?

Mr. FISHMAN. It would be pretty difficult unless he had a knowledge of the entire propaganda program. For example, here is a piece of printed material of the type which is distributed freely. It has absolutely no identification whatever. To look at it, you might think it was printed across the street here.

It is entitled "South Korean Women" and is a diatribe against what, supposedly, the United States Army has done in South Korea.

Here is another one, "Facts Indict Atrocities Committed by the U.S. Aggressive Army in South Korea."

Mr. SCHERER. I think I have seen that publication before, the one pertaining to alleged atrocities of American aggressors against Korean prisoners of war.

Did you refer to that one?

Mr. FISHMAN. There have been some new ones issued since then, Congressman.

Mr. SCHERER. Since the one in 1955?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. These were printed in 1959: "War Provocation Maneuvers of U.S. Imperialists in South Korea." "Subordination, Militarization, and Irrecoverable Bankruptcy."

Mr. SCHERER. These are printed in what language?

Mr. FISHMAN. In English.

Mr. SCHERER. Obviously for consumption in the United States and not in Asia.

Mr. FISHMAN. Here is one, "South Korea, a Huge Prison; a Review of South Korean Political Situation."

Mr. ARENS. There is no indication on any of the material on this table—this sampling—no indication at all that this material has been labeled Communist propaganda as the law requires?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. I believe the pamphlet I am referring to that I saw some time ago was printed in 1955 in Peiping, was it not?

Mr. FISHMAN. It may have been.

Mr. SCHERER. This is not printed in the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. No, it is not.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, will you be good enough to direct the committee's attention, and be sure that our record reflects what you

are doing, to some of the typical material which you have there? I see your labels. You have "Material directed to students," "Material coming from the Soviet Union," "Material from Germany," apparently material even from Korea, "Material from Red China," material apparently, from the covers there, directed to women's groups.

In any of this material, do you see any advertising, as you see in a typical American publication?

Mr. FISIMAN. No. These publications are very obviously subsidized by the Soviet Government or the respective satellite government. There is absolutely no advertising. The subscription price is very nominal and could hardly cover the cost of printing.

It is also apparent that some of these publications resemble our publications in format and also in paper material, and probably are very costly.

Mr. ARENS. Now will you and your associates—I don't know whether you personally speak Spanish, but I know you have translations here—will you give us just a brief résumé of the typical material in each of the many classes, particularly with reference to the sources of origin and the content of the material?

Mr. FISIMAN. We have chosen for exhibition a great deal of material in the English language. Some brief reference to this material—I think the committee members have some examples. A publication which was published as a supplement to New Times, which is a Soviet publication, we have on exhibition—here it is—entitled "The Slums of New York—Facts About the American Way of Life."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, you live in New York City. Is it basically a perversion of the facts?

Mr. FISHMAN. It sure is.

Mr. ARENS. So as to have a negative impact on the mind of the recipient?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is at least a misstatement, shall we say, of some of the facts.

Mr. ARENS. There is nothing on that document so that the recipient, when he reads it, will know that the author of it was a Communist dedicated to the destruction of freedom—

Mr. FISHMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. ARENS. Part of this Godless conspiracy known as international communism?

Mr. FISHMAN. Absolutely not.

We can select at random. There are hundreds of examples. Here is a publication from East Berlin entitled "Unity." It contains numerous articles glorifying East Germany for the progress and happiness achieved during her present existence. One article is entitled "Imperialist Misuse of the Liberty Notion." It strongly attacks the United States, and glorifies Red China. It ridicules our attempts to launch satellites, and so on and so forth.

International Affairs gives us quite a beating in connection with SEATO, and the collapse of the cold war, for example. More recently, as I mentioned before, there has been a cessation of the hostile attitude, and we thought it might be interesting to prepare a very brief summary of the Soviet newspapers issued when Mr. Khrushchev returned from the United States.

This is a summary. I will read a part of it:

Part 1 deals with the American masses, that is, the simple American people. Part 2 deals with the capitalists, politicians and their servants, and the press, who are supposedly the servants of the politicians. Part 3 deals with President Eisenhower.

In referring to Part 1, the American people are described as obviously for Khrushchev. They meet him everywhere with great enthusiasm. Thousands line the streets for hours to catch at least a glimpse of the great leader and to shout "Peace."

In Part 2, the capitalists and their servants are described as the dark forces of reaction. They are accused of interfering with Mr. Khrushchev's desire to see the people of America. The press is accused of distortion of facts and of Khrushchev's statements and of minimizing the effect produced by his visit. Big business is accused of trying to sabotage peaceful missions, and so on.

Of course, President Eisenhower has been treated very well in the press. He is singled out as a fine gentleman with high principles, desirous of coming to terms and understanding. He is never criticized. On the contrary, he is spoken of with a great deal of respect.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Fishman, do you have a copy of the one you furnished the committee, "Information Bulletin No. 5," published in Red China? There is a summary of what this bulletin contains, printed in English, which you furnished the committee:

Violent attack on U.S. American imperialists are plotting to sell Koreans as slaves. Their brutal, inhuman treatment of children is most violently exposed. South Korean Government is a tool of U.S. imperialists who ravage South Korea and create a desperate and critical economic situation. "Hundreds of thousands of abandoned orphans are groaning from hunger and sickness and are dying one after the other by the roadside" * * *. "This acute crisis is an aftermath of the vicious colonial rule pursued by the U.S. imperialist aggressors" * * *."

Then there is another chapter under the title "U.S. Beasts Again Shoot Korean Children." It states, "The U.S. mercenary soldiers in South Korea committed shuddering atrocities of shooting at random Korean children as targets for hunting practice with their hunting guns."

Did you furnish this summary of this pamphlet?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. I have a copy before me.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that a correct summary of this pamphlet?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is a correct summary of the contents of that publication.

Mr. SCHERER. And that was printed in Red China and printed in English and distributed in the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Did any of these reach Puerto Rico, do you know?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Accusing American boys of shooting Korean children as targets for hunting practice.

Mr. ARENS. But the recipient of that material would not know he is reading Communist propaganda because there is no label?

Mr. FISHMAN. There is no label, as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. ARENS. Now would you allude, please, Mr. Fishman, to some of the other typical publications? I see, for example, some there apparently directed to youth groups. Would you tell us about those?

Mr. FISHMAN. Well, the program directed to the youth groups has continued unabated. As you know, this type of material comes from two sources, sponsored almost entirely by the Soviet propaganda movement.

The first group, supposedly the larger, is the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The second group is the International Union of Students. Both of these organizations publish many individual pamphlets and booklets directed to school and secondary school and college level institutions.

This type of material is sent free for the most part, although it is indicated in the material that for the subscription price of \$1 a year you can receive it directly at your home. But every college and university in the United States and its possessions receives this material on a continuing basis.

It is addressed generally to student organizations, to the library, to the university fraternity groups, and so on and so forth. Our experience is that it has been directed to the universities here in this area also.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have illustrations of material in the Spanish language which is directed to appeal to women's groups?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us a word about that?

Mr. FISHMAN. The propaganda movement, as I explained before, omits absolutely no angle, so that there is a specific group of magazines directed to the women of the United States, published in the Soviet Union. These publications for the most part deal with peace appeals to take action in the United States against atomic testing.

Similar peace movements are discussed. The general idea is to unite women in the United States, to bring pressure upon them to form organizations of all kinds, to fight for various causes sponsored in these publications.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be a fair characterization, Mr. Fishman, to say that Puerto Rico, because of the fact that it is operating, as the continental United States does, under the rather liberal laws governing this flood of Communist propaganda, that Puerto Rico is a nerve center for the transhipment or dissemination of Communist propaganda in the Spanish language to South American countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. Because of the care in selection of addressees, that would probably be a good summary.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, do you have any observation or comment to make further respecting the Communist propaganda which emanates from behind the Iron Curtain? I observe you have one publication from Germany. Can you give us a word about that?

Mr. FISHMAN. These reflect the front organizations in the satellite countries. The German publications, of course, are directed to criticism of West Germany, to the efforts to unite Germany, and so on. In other words, there is no question at all that each publication has a purpose. It is selected for a particular reason and sent to the United States to cover a problem at issue in the United States.

These German publications are obviously directed to people who have backgrounds in Germany. We have, for example, the problem, as the committee may be aware, of controlling this material which comes from friendly countries.

Mr. ARENS. I believe it would be well for our record if you would pursue that theme for a few minutes and let the record be clear.

Mr. FISHMAN. Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act and on advice from the Department of Justice, we may presume that anything which comes from a Soviet-bloc country emanates from government control, so under the act, we may concern ourselves with that type of publication.

On the other hand, similar material shipped from friendly countries is not under our jurisdiction or control unless we can establish a relationship between the sender and the foreign government. So for the most part it has been our position that this material may be freely imported into the United States.

The propaganda organizations have not been entirely unaware of this, so as our controls on shipments directly from the Soviet-bloc countries have been strengthened, the volume of the material shipped from the foreign countries has increased.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, we just came, as you know, a day or so ago, from hearings in New York City, at which time we were developing facts with respect to the Communist conspiratorial activities aimed at the Spanish-speaking people there.

Again the committee made it clear that the overwhelming majority of the Puerto Ricans in New York City are loyal, fine people, but that the small number of dedicated fanatics of the Communist conspiracy are the ones who are causing so much trouble on behalf of the world revolution.

Is any of the material which you see here, which is being distributed here on this island and being transhipped from this island out to other Spanish-speaking countries, likewise being sent into New York City by the Communist conspiracy to attempt to undermine and weaken and pervert the Spanish-speaking people there?

Mr. FISHMAN. I had mentioned earlier in my statement that a good deal of the material directed to this area and also to South America comes from friendly countries and from the embassies of the Soviet Government in these countries, so that to a great extent we do see a good deal of material on its way from a friendly country to the South American countries.

Mr. ARENS. We had displayed in New York City a couple of days ago by one of your associates some of the Communist propaganda which he said he had tested there, which is destined to the Spanish-speaking people in New York City.

Is that the same type of propaganda, Communist propaganda, that is being disseminated here on this island and via this island en route to other Spanish-speaking countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, you mentioned the fact that the committee recognized that in New York the great mass of the people of the Puerto Rican community were fine, loyal, patriotic American citizens, but that there was a small group, as was shown by the evidence, of dedicated, fanatical Communists working among them.

It was shown by the evidence also, was it not, that these were not necessarily all Puerto Ricans, but there were others of other extractions, working in the Puerto Rican community as agitators?

Mr. ARENS. And we also developed there, and the record should reflect it here in Puerto Rico, that there is a direct tie-in between the

Communist operation in New York City and the Communist operation on this island; indeed, on the very airplane, Mr. Scherer will recall, that we took to come to Puerto Rico just last night, there were, I believe, three, and I am sure two, of the Communists whom we had as witnesses in New York City, and one of whom I have seen in the courtroom today.

Mr. SCHERER. As an example, we mentioned before the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which is represented here by Mr. Foreman, who is not a Puerto Rican, who came into this community in advance of this committee's appearance as he has in various cities in the United States. He was here before we arrived; he is stirring up agitation here and he is not a Puerto Rican.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, I would like to pursue one other area of inquiry, and then I believe we have made a record here that is clear from your presentation, for which we thank you.

The U.S. mails are not self-sufficient, are they, Mr. Fishman? In other words, the postage which is paid by the sender of material isn't sufficient to defray the costs to the Post Office?

Mr. FISHMAN. That, I believe, is public knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Every year the Congress is obliged to appropriate from the taxpayers millions and millions of dollars to sustain the U.S. mails.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. With that as a fact, it is then likewise a fact, is it not, Mr. Fishman, that the U.S. taxpayers who contribute to sustain the mails are, by that very contribution, assisting in the transportation of this Communist propaganda which is designed ultimately to destroy our country; isn't that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I would respectfully suggest that that would conclude the staff interrogation of Mr. Fishman and his colleagues at this time.

We are, of course, aware of the fact that in a relatively brief presentation of this kind we cannot exhaust the subject matter. But as the committee knows, Mr. Fishman and his colleagues are in frequent contact with the staff, constantly supplying us with detailed information which will ultimately be incorporated in appropriate reports.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask just one question or two?

Mr. Fishman, both here, as I see from the exhibits, and in New York, we had Communist propaganda coming from Iron Curtain countries in the Spanish language.

Do you know of any so-called Iron Curtain country where Spanish is the language that is spoken?

Mr. PELAEZ. No, I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand that this propaganda is printed in about 13 different languages.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right; in every language.

Mr. SCHERER. I remember in Buffalo we showed that some of the propaganda was distributed to the Polish community there.

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. There is no question at all but that this material is prepared specifically for this area. We have made our observations from a study of the individual pieces of mail. I think we mentioned how it is distributed.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact when the Soviet propagandists want a certain nationality group within the United States to take a certain point of view on a current political issue, that that particular group is then flooded with propaganda in the language of that particular group?

Mr. FISHMAN. Absolutely. That represents one of our major problems, the unsolicited material which is sent to a complete listing of people, taken from a telephone book or an organization guide.

Mr. SCHERER. You recall, I think, in one of the other hearings that we had volumes of mail from people in the United States who are of foreign extraction, protesting the sending of this literature to them through the United States mails.

Mr. FISHMAN. We still receive that type of protest. Many of them are referred to us by Members of the Congress, received by them from their constituents.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Scherer, I am not certain that our record is absolutely clear on the point which I know you were trying to develop on the Spanish language, and with your permission I would like to make an observation and see if Mr. Fishman does not agree with it.

Mr. Fishman, the Congressman asked you if it is not a fact that there is no country which is presently controlled exclusively by the Communists, such as Hungary or the Soviet Union or East Germany, which has a Spanish language.

Mr. FISHMAN. As far as I know, and Mr. Pelaez would be familiar with that, and he knows of no country.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, this material developed here is not material which is just circulated within the Iron Curtain in the Spanish language?

Mr. FISHMAN. We wouldn't suspect so.

Mr. ARENS. It would have to be material which is developed with the design of the conspirators to send into the Spanish-speaking countries their poison in order to attempt to condition their minds; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct. A reading of some of the titles of these publications would make that apparent.

Mr. ARENS. This material which is sent from the Communist countries in Spanish to Spanish-speaking countries does not, any place, say, "We are conspirators," does it? That is absurd, isn't it? It does not say any place in it, "We are Communists who are seeking to control the world," does it?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have never seen it.

Mr. ARENS. It is all subtle. Thank you. We have no further questions at this time of Mr. Fishman.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Fishman, I want to take this opportunity of expressing the appreciation of this committee on the investigation which you and those associated with you have conducted, and the information which you have made available to this committee, which will be very helpful to us in our deliberations and in our studies of legislation along the lines of your testimony, so as to enable the country to deal more effectively with the problem which you have so clearly described.

We particularly want to thank Miss Suske and Mr. Pelaez, associated with you, for coming here and giving us this testimony.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Inspector Ortiz.

Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that the morning has just about transpired, it is now approximately 11:30, I respectfully suggest that the chairman consider a recess at this time, and we will start this afternoon with the witness who was just called. Then we will not be confronted with the possibility of breaking in the middle of his testimony.

Mr. TUCK. Do you think we will have ample time for the afternoon?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Before you recess, I wanted to respectfully bring to the attention of the committee—my name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, for the record. I am one of several counsel appointed by the Bar Association of Puerto Rico to assist whatever witnesses were subpoenaed before the committee who needed some legal advice, and there are several statements which I have here which I want to file with the committee on behalf of these witnesses in advance.

I wrote to you; I cabled you a week ago, you will probably remember, in Washington, requesting a copy of the resolution, a copy of the rules of the committee, and Mr. Arens was kind enough to mail them to me. I received them yesterday noon.

Yesterday I cabled you again, stating that we had just received the rules. Of course, this morning is the first opportunity which we have had to file the statements with the committee. I respectfully convey to the committee now that we have the statements here of those witnesses who have come this morning. Some we haven't seen and as soon as they come, I will file them with you.

Mr. TUCK. You may file the statements with the counsel.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:28 a.m. Wednesday, November 18, 1959, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1959

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. William M. Tuck, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will be in order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Inspector Ortiz, please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath, please.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ORTIZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RESTITUTO ORTIZ

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ORTIZ. My name is Restituto Ortiz. I live in San Juan and I work as an inspector at the Customs House.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at the Customs House, Inspector?

Mr. ORTIZ. Twenty-one years.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about your duties, please, sir.

Mr. ORTIZ. Well, inspecting the baggage of the incoming passengers, and inspecting cargo and ships' documents, and taking care of inspecting outgoing cargo for foreign countries.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the last few months, did you have occasion to inspect certain property which was being brought into San Juan, Puerto Rico, by a man by the name of Jose Enamorado Cuesta?

Mr. ORTIZ. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. ARENS. You might spell that for the purpose of this record.

Mr. ORTIZ. C-u-e-s-t-a.

Mr. ARENS. And his first name and middle name, please?

Mr. ORTIZ. Well his middle name, E-n-a-m-o-r-a-d-o. The first I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, as I say, have occasion in the course of the last few months to inspect certain property which was in the process of being brought into San Juan by Jose Enamorado Cuesta?

Mr. ORTIZ. I did. I was the inspector assigned to examine his baggage on his coming in from Europe.

Mr. ARENS. He was arriving here from Europe?

Mr. ORTIZ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Aboard what vessel was he arriving?

Mr. ORTIZ. The steamship *Antilles*.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us in your own words what property you inspected that was being brought into Puerto Rico by Jose Enamorado Cuesta.

Mr. ORTIZ. As a matter of fact, he only had two baggages, one small valise full of books, periodicals, magazines, and very little, if any, wearing apparel. So I had to look through all of them.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have here in the courtroom today some of the material which Jose Enamorado Cuesta was bringing into Puerto Rico?

Mr. ORTIZ. That is part of it.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly display some of it before the committee now and tell us what it is?

Mr. ORTIZ. Well, if I can, because this is mostly in foreign language, Chinese, Russian, Hungarian, French, so I couldn't very well tell.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of description of it, please, sir.

Mr. ORTIZ. Well, these are all periodicals and books with news of meetings and gatherings of foreign people in foreign countries.

Mr. ARENS. I have one I have just taken from a box entitled "Soviet Woman." Was that part of the material which you inspected?

Mr. ORTIZ. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Here is another one entitled "Soviet Books." Here is another one entitled "The Rise of the Chinese People's Communes," by Anna Louise Strong.

Are all of these periodicals and books which I am now taking from this box part of the material which you inspected when Jose Enamorado Cuesta was coming into San Juan some few months ago?

Mr. ORTIZ. Yes, they are all, and there are some more around here. There should be more.

Mr. ARENS. There are others, but these are typical illustrations of the material?

Mr. ORTIZ. They are.

Mr. ARENS. The other is in like character, is it not?

Mr. ORTIZ. They are.

Mr. ARENS. We have here "China Reconstructs," which tells about the operations in Communist Red China, June of 1959. We have one here "USSR—Lenin's Ideas." We have one about North Korea. We have others in like vein. But all of this material was material which you inspected?

Mr. ORTIZ. Which I took from the passenger.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to that material, I have two documents which I want to be sure that you give careful attention to as I present them to you. Here is a document in Spanish which I would like to direct to your attention. It is a diary covering some months.

Was that part of the property being brought into San Juan in the custody of Enamorado Cuesta which you inspected?

Mr. ORTIZ. Yes, it was part.

(See Enamorado Cuesta Exhibit No. 1, pp. 1643-1649.)

Mr. ARENS. This second document consists of the minutes of a meeting in Moscow. It is in a foreign language which we have had translated. These minutes tell of a meeting in Moscow in which was formed a new international organization for the purpose, according to the minutes, of penetrating all the Spanish-speaking countries of this hemisphere.

Was this document which I now display to you part of the material which you inspected in the custody of Enamorado Cuesta?

Mr. ORTIZ. It is.

(See Enamorado Cuesta Exhibit No. 2, pp. 1649-1652.)

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Arens, may I ask when did the minutes of that meeting indicate that it was held in Moscow?

Mr. ARENS. This year, in 1959; Moscow, 1959.

Now, Inspector, did a representative of the Committee on Un-American Activities, in due process of law, serve upon you what we call in the law a subpoena duces tecum, pursuant to which you transferred custody of certain of these documents to the committee for committee purposes?

Mr. ORTIZ. I didn't receive anything.

Mr. ARENS. Well, that was served on your superior officer, then?

Mr. ORTIZ. It might have been.

Mr. ARENS. And did you know we have had these documents translated?

Mr. ORTIZ. I did have knowledge.

Mr. SCHERER. Before we go any further, where did this man from whom you seized this material come from?

Mr. ORTIZ. Europe.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know what country in Europe he came from?

Mr. ORTIZ. Well, the ship on which he arrived sailed from Vigo, Spain. That is the last port in leaving Europe.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the name of that ship?

Mr. ORTIZ. *Antilles*.

Mr. SCHERER. Under what nation does it sail?

Mr. ORTIZ. French.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I have in my hand at the present time the return of the subpoena duces tecum which was served by a representative of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Collector of Customs at San Juan, Puerto Rico, pursuant to which custody of a number of these documents which were in the possession of Enamorado Cuesta were transferred—custody was transferred to the Committee on Un-American Activities. I respectfully suggest that the subpoena itself and the return of the subpoena, be incorporated by reference in this record.

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Ortiz Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much, Mr. Ortiz.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, sir, will be Jose Enamorado Cuesta.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Would you raise your right hand?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I do.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully want to convey to you that the witness at this time has informed me that he doesn't have enough of a command of English to understand exactly the nature of the questions.

Mr. ARENS. We have brought with us an official translator who has been sworn on this record.

Mr. TUCK. We have an interpreter from the State Department.

Did I understand that he answered the oath in the affirmative?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the interpreter be requested to seat himself near the witness so that he may interpret into Spanish the English questions and into English the Spanish response.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. I would respectfully request at this time, if it does not inconvenience the committee, as far as we are concerned it is perfectly all right for the interpreter to remain where he is, and I am sure it will be better because he is half away from you and half away from us, and at the same time it will be much better for us to communicate with the witness.

Mr. ARENS. That is perfectly all right.

Now, Mr. Chairman, so that there will be no question of this witness being administered an oath, I respectfully suggest that the chairman cause an oath to be administered to him via the translator who has already been sworn in this record, made in New York City, to truly and correctly make his translations and interpretations.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give in this case will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. All the truth.

TESTIMONY OF JOSE ENAMORADO CUESTA, ACCCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ AND GERARDO ORTIZ DEL RIVERO (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, occupation, and residence.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I wish to consult my counsel.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHIERER. Mr. Arens, in what language is this publication that was seized from this witness, that is, the minutes of the meeting?

Mr. ARENS. In Spanish. We have it translated into English.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. My name is Jose. Actually, my surname is Enamorado. My first surname and the maternal surname is Cuesta.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

May I interrupt to ask if you are reading from a prepared statement?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. No, Senor——

Mr. SCHIERER. Did he say "No, Senor," to Mr. Arens' question?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I have respectfully come here in response to that subpoena before this subcommittee, but I would like to say at the outset that I will refuse to answer any and all questions that are posed to me by the members of this committee because I believe that this committee has no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico, nor any moral force of any kind.

Mr. ARENS. Do you understand the English language?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Some.

I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I refuse to accept the jurisdiction of this committee in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel in this proceeding?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully give the same answer as I did in the previous question.

Mr. SCHIERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question if he is represented by counsel.

Mr. TUCK. I respectfully order and direct the witness to answer the question. Without making any threat or doing anything to intimidate the witness, I feel it is my duty to warn him that he may find himself involved in a serious criminal matter by reason of his contempt before a committee of the Congress of the United States.

In respect to the question that he raised regarding jurisdiction, if there is any merit at all to that question it will ultimately, of course,

have to be decided by the court. This committee overrules the objection.

The island of Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States as a result of the war with Spain in 1898. In 1917 by the Jones Act, and incidentally, a congressman from the Commonwealth of Virginia, from which I come, gave them citizenship, and in 1952, by a unilateral compact and agreement between the United States and Puerto Rico, they became a commonwealth, and received their independence but became a commonwealth, although nevertheless a part of the United States.

Their Governor attends the Governors' conferences of the United States. The last National Governors' Conference was held here in San Juan in Puerto Rico. This committee has held hearings all over the United States. We held hearings in Hawaii some years ago, and Hawaii occupied a status at that time not dissimilar to the status now occupied by Puerto Rico.

In the light of those statements, the Chair again orders and directs the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer this question because I maintain and insist that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation, and this is supported by the statement which I have already handed to the committee in writing.

Mr. TUCK. Let me interject that the committee does not accept the excuses which he has given. On the contrary, it rejects them. For the reasons heretofore stated by me, I again order and direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully insist on my position that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reason that I have already outlined in the written statement already submitted to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this minute, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully wish to give the same answer that I gave to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not he is now, this minute, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair rejects and does not accept the reasons assigned by the witness for not answering that question, and the Chair orders and directs the witness to answer the question.

The Chair warns the witness that he may find himself involved in serious trouble with the courts and with the Department of Justice of the United States for his failure to answer that question.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, my answer to this question is the same as it was to the previous one.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, I am going to request the interpreter or translator to read an article from a recent issue, October 1959 issue, of a Communist publication published here on the island of Puerto Rico. This publication is entitled "*Pueblo*." I am going to ask the interpreter to read one little article running about the equivalent of a normal half page.

I am going to ask him to translate it from the Spanish in which it appears, into English, and then I am going to lay the Spanish original publication before your eyes for you to read.

Now, Mr. Interpreter, please read this article beginning as marked in *Pueblo* of October 1959.

Mr. BARNES. The magazine is called *Pueblo*, which is, in English, "People." The date it bears is October 1959. The title of the article says "Enamorado Cuesta Becomes a Member of the Communist Party." Then it bears a subtitle, "The entire press of the country has received a copy of this resolution of the Puerto Rican Communist Party. Due to its importance, we published it in its entirety as it has been requested of us."

Jose Enamorado Cuesta, 68 years old, is known in Puerto Rico and in the world because of his literary works as a writer, a poet and a newspaperman, because of his selfless patriotic struggle of 17 years in his newspaper *Puerto Rico Libre*—

Which means Free Puerto Rico—

because of his untiring struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, for social justice and world peace, for which reasons he has been unjustly persecuted and jailed.

Enamorado is a veteran of the anti-Fascist war which the Spanish people waged in defense of the Spanish Republic. He has always been an admirer and defender of the struggles of liberty of the colonial peoples and those who are in a semi-colonial status of democracy for the great working masses of Soviet power and of socialism.

For a long time he played an outstanding part in the ranks of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico and abroad. His ideological preparation befits that of a national revolutionary patriot who is honest. His past ideological instability has given rise to the fact that some of his friends pointed out that he was a nationalist, others as a Communist, and others as an anarchist.

In spite of these concepts, all of these people will esteem him, respect him and express towards him some sort of solidarity. This is the Enamorado Cuesta who deserves this resolution to admit him into the ranks of the Puerto Rican Communist Party.

In making his request for admission, Enamorado Cuesta has expressed a great desire to better assimilate the Marxist-Leninist theory in order to more effectively serve the working class in its struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, for the highest standard of living of the great working masses for world peace, and for the eventual establishment of a Socialist system in our country which will guarantee the broadest democracy and prosperity to the Puerto Rican people.

He accepted with pleasure the constructive criticisms made by some comrades. In his self-criticism, he pointed out the origins of his ideological preparation, his effort to become a Marxist and a member of the party, and the desire to make further political progress.

In admitting Enamorado Cuesta to the ranks of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, all of its members congratulate him warmly and at the same time feel great joy because of having among their ranks such an outstanding intellectual.

The entrance of Jose Enamorado Cuesta to our party should stimulate the entrance to our ranks of other honest Puerto Rican patriots who occasionally assume Marxist positions but who have stayed outside of the party.

San Juan, Puerto Rico, October 16, 1959, Puerto Rican Communist Party.

JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, *President.*

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, I am going to lay before you, as I promised to do, the original document from which the interpreter just translated into English from this Communist publication, *Pueblo*, October 1959.

Please, in your own tongue, Spanish, read this publication and tell us whether or not the facts recited there respecting your membership in the Communist Party are true and correct.

Mr. SCHIERER. I don't see how he can listen to the translator when he is talking to his counsel.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Would you wait a moment?

Mr. BARNES. Yes.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I wish permission to again consult my counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Certainly, at any time.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully insist on the answer I gave to the preceding question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee again wishes to state that they do not accept, but on the contrary reject, the reasons which he gave for not answering the question, and again orders and directs him to answer that question.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I would like to save time for this committee, and I say this with all due respect and for all of the persons who are present here, and insist on the reply that I gave to the previous question, and also insist, Mr. Chairman, that I will give the same reply to all other questions that are posed to me.

Mr. ARENS. May it be understood, then, Counsel for the Witness, that the Chair and the committee insist upon an answer to each of these questions which we are posing to the witness because, in the judgment of the committee, the information is vital for committee purposes in assembling factual information to be used by the committee in its legislative objectives as a committee of the United States Congress.

Mr. TUCK. The director will proceed to examine the witness.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. Am I to understand that that question is addressed to me by counsel for the committee?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; if you please.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Should I answer his question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. TUCK. No. Under the rules of this committee, your sole function as counsel is to advise your client.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Your Honor, I posed the question to you whether I should answer it, because the staff director made it to me and I wanted to know if he had the authority to pose the question to me.

Mr. ARENS. I will accept the responsibility for that, Mr. Chairman. I may have misled, erroneously, the counsel. The witness, as I understood via the interpreter, was requesting a curtailment of his rather lengthy answer, that he would just say "The same answer," and obviate the necessity for reading this paper before him in response to each question.

I wanted to be sure that his counsel understood that, and that counsel also understood that the committee was insisting upon replies to the questions, and that by agreeing to the witness just saying the words "same answer" rather than reading a lengthy statement, the committee was not in any sense waiving its right to insist upon an answer.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Your Honor, may I at this point convey to the committee that the witness has repeatedly stated respectfully that he declines to answer any question posed by this committee on the grounds that this committee has no jurisdiction to conduct this in-

vestigation, as stated, for the reasons which he conveyed to the committee in the statement which has already been filed with the committee.

The statement by the witness was to the effect that he respectfully wanted to consider your time, and he didn't want the committee to lose time by making him two, four, eight, 100 questions, when he has respectfully repeated to the committee—

Mr. ARENS. We understood that. We want to be certain that the committee is not in a position of agreeing to waive its rights to an answer, because this committee insists upon answers to these questions, and we didn't want the committee to be placed in the position of a waiver.

Mr. TUCK. This committee is thoroughly accustomed to the objections which the witness and his counsel have raised. They are respectfully overruled. The counsel will proceed to examine the witness.

Mr. ARENS. Witness, what was your last service for the Communist Party?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, if they could translate that for the witness, your last statement, so that he can have the benefit of your statement.

Mr. TUCK. The interpreter will repeat what I said, in Spanish. (The translation was delivered by the interpreter.)

Mr. ARENS. My question is, Mr. Witness, what was your last service that you have performed for the Communist Party?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully insist, Mr. Chairman, on my reply to the previous question. It is the same reply.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that your last service to the Communist Party occurred in the course of the last few hours, when you were participating in a picket demonstration against the Committee on Un-American Activities here in San Juan.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, my reply is the same one I gave to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. And you understand, Mr. Witness, that the committee insists in this question, as well as all questions, on its right to an answer?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, my reply is the same as the one I gave to the other questions.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make known to your fellow demonstrators that your participation, at least in that demonstration, was as a member of that conspiratorial organization known as the Communist Party?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, my reply is the same as the one I gave to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. And I want the witness, if you please, sir, to understand, Counsel, that the committee insists upon an answer to that question.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Excuse me?

Mr. ARENS. I want the witness to please understand that the committee insists upon an answer to that question.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders and directs the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, with all due respect, I am not going to change my answer to your questions.

Mr. ARENS. Now I lay before you, Mr. Witness, a document [diary] which has been identified by the United States Customs Inspector a few moments ago as a document intercepted by him from you a few months ago when you were arriving here at San Juan with a number of documents.

Please look at this document and tell this committee whether or not the testimony of the inspector identifying this document is true and correct.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I give the same reply I gave to the preceding questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the chairman now again order the witness—and direct the witness to answer this question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee orders and directs the witness to answer this question. The committee does not accept the reasons which he has given for not answering the question. The committee feels it should again warn the witness of the fact that he may find himself in serious difficulties with the Department of Justice of the United States by reason of his failure to answer these questions.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I also respectfully refuse to answer this question because I feel that this committee does not have the jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons that I have already given the committee in a written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, I have in my hand an English translation of this diary. I expect to interrogate you with reference to each of several items entered in the diary. It is a diary of J. Enamorado Cuesta, 1959.

Mr. Witness, on January 1, 1959, in the diary as it is translated, you make reference to a contact which you have with a man by the name of Compostila, who is described by yourself in the diary as one of your comrades in the Spanish war. Based upon that item of information, I now ask you did you participate in the Spanish Civil War?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Respectfully, Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer this question for the same reasons I gave in refusing to answer the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Interpreter—I respectfully request the chairman, if you please, by the interpreter, to inform the witness, so that there will be no possible slip, of the insistence of the committee on answers to these questions, that the committee insists on an answer to each and every one of these questions.

We don't want the witness to be in a ludicrous position in reference to every answer of going through a lot of words here. I respectfully suggest that any reasonable person would translate the position of this committee as an insistence for answers on each of the questions we are posing to the witness.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair wishes to inform the witness that the committee insists upon his giving a direct answer to each and every question that is asked, and whether or not the insistence is made at his failure to reply to any particular question, the position of the committee, nevertheless, is that they insist that he give a true answer to each and every question that may be propounded here.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would also like to inform the witness via the interpreter that if in reference to any question which I have posed or intend to pose or do pose to the witness, he is uncer-

tain about the question or if he does not understand its relevancy or pertinency, we will be glad to explain it to him, because assuming that this proceeding finds its way into the courts, we do not want the witness to undertake to put the committee in the position of not making clear the pertinency or relevancy of any particular question.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair further wants to make certain that the witness understands he may inquire at any time as to the pertinence of any question that may be asked. He is free to confer with his counsel.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I would like to consult with my counsel. (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, may I respectfully submit at this time that in consideration of the many duties of this committee and the need which there is to save time for all of us, the committee has made distinctly clear in the record that it poses the witness a number of questions and the witness has repeatedly conveyed to the committee that he respectfully declines to answer the question on the ground that he challenges the jurisdiction of the committee to carry on this investigation.

The committee has once and again, over and over, conveyed to the witness that he is directed to answer the next question, and the witness has restated time and again that he does not answer the question because it is his position that the committee doesn't have jurisdiction.

I do believe in due fairness to the committee and in due fairness to everyone concerned that the position has been made clear to the effect that it is just a question of challenging the jurisdiction, and that it will not be possible to elicit any answer from the witness, because he will restate time and again the position which he has made, I think, respectfully, distinctly clear, that he does not believe that this committee has jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.

Therefore, I respectfully submit that as far as keeping on with the examination is concerned, it would, in a certain way, be a waste of our time because he has respectfully submitted that the committee has no jurisdiction, has no power, within the law, to elicit any answers from him.

Therefore, in a way, the best thing probably would be to admit that the witness doesn't recognize the jurisdiction of this committee and that, therefore, he refuses, as he has refused in the past, to answer the questions which have been posed to him and any more that may be posed to him, with due respect. That is his position.

Mr. TUCK. We can well understand the position taken by the witness and by his counsel and the committee has already ruled on that.

Counsel, proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness—

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. May I convey to the witness what has just transpired?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, I direct your attention to two entries in your diary, one on January 3 and the other on January 4, in which you state that a group of Yankee pacifists arrived in San Juan, and that you and Manuel Arroyo called on this group of Yankee pacifists and had certain sessions with them.

Will you now recount to the committee the facts and circumstances surrounding the session which you and Manuel Arroyo had in January with this group which you have described in the diary as Yankee pacifists, who arrived here in San Juan in January?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, my answer is the same one that I gave to the preceding question.

Mr. ARENS. Is Manuel Arroyo in truth and in fact Manuel Arroyo Zeppenfeldt, of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I didn't understand the last—

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. My reply is the same, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to an entry in your diary of January 26, 1959, in which you speak of sending an emissary to Havana, Cuba. I ask you now if the emissary who was sent on or about January 26, 1959, from San Juan to Havana, Cuba, was a member of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, who was sent on a mission of the conspiracy?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. The same reply, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to an entry of February 10, 1959, in your diary, and of March 2, 1959, and of March 17, 1959, in your diary, in which you tell of the solicitation for funds to finance a mission to Stockholm, Sweden.

Please tell this committee while you are now under oath the facts and circumstances pursuant to which you solicited and collected, according to your diary, several hundred dollars to finance a mission from San Juan, Puerto Rico, to a meeting in Stockholm, Sweden.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Respectfully, Mr. Chairman, my reply is the same.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to an entry in your diary of April 23, 1959, in which you state that "We left San Juan on the 20th at noon aboard the Antilles, headed for Paris," and which you follow with a number of items in succeeding days respecting what you are going to do when you arrive in Stockholm.

Please tell this committee the facts and circumstances, in toto, which are reflected by these item entries in your diary.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, I would like to give the same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to an entry in your diary of April 28, 1959, specifically to this language:

We were sailing all day and arrived at Le Havre at 5 p.m. There, two French comrades were waiting for me at the pier, one of them speaking Spanish very well—as he was born in Spain—by order of the Vice President of the Conseil National, Mr. Soucer. I continued my trip to Paris by train and we arrived at 10 p.m. I registered at the "Hotel du Casino" at 41, rue de Chiche, just a step from the Council, by recommendation of my comrade at Le Havre.

Please tell this committee while you are under oath the facts and circumstances, and the facts in toto, which are itemized on this entry of your diary for April 1959.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. My reply is the same, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to an entry in your diary of May 1, 1959.

Today was a big day in Paris. The P.C. [Communist Party] held a big mass meeting at the "Bourse des Travailleurs" [Labor Exchange] and there was an

enormous crowd in front of the building on the big square there—* * * Maurice Thorez, the Secretary-General of the CGT, spoke, who closed the meeting, and two or three other speakers. It ended at 6 p.m. or at 18:00 o'clock as they say here. I was there and said hello to many comrades and bought the newspapers they were selling. I cabled Arroyo today [saying] only "O.K."

Please tell this committee whether or not the facts and circumstances recited in this diary are true and correct, and please give the committee, while you are under oath, a complete account of the facts respecting your sojourn in Paris in contact with the Communist conspiracy there.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully insist on giving the same answer that I gave to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to your diary of May 2, in which you state that:

This morning I called at *L'Humanité* and gave them my books—* * * also a copy, in Spanish, of my Message to the [Peace] Congress. * * *

Please tell the committee while you are under oath the complete facts and circumstances of your call at this Communist entity in Paris.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully refuse to answer this question for the same reasons that I refused to answer the previous questions.

Mr. ARENS. Now, in summary, on a number of items, I invite your attention to entries made during the course of the month of May, in which you state that you had now arrived at Stockholm, Sweden, and in which you tell of sessions in which you have been engaged with Chinese, Vietnamese, Latin Americans, and others, and in which you tell in detail of certain sessions in which you participated in a conference there with others.

Please tell this committee while you are under oath the complete facts and circumstances of these sessions.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention in all earnestness to an entry made on May 9, 1959, in which you recite, among other things, as follows:

This morning I received a cable from Puerto Rico, announcing a shipment, by registered mail, of a "Single Message" as they said, with vitally important questions which cannot be put off.

And on which entry you likewise say—

Today, Vadim Palekovsky, a young man from the Soviet Union and Spanish interpreter, invited me to record a talk by me, for Latin America, over Radio Moscow, which I did with great pleasure, and I sent him the rest on imperialism.

While you are under oath, sir, please tell this committee the facts and circumstances of this session, particularly of your session with the man from the Soviet Union and the facts and circumstances of the broadcast which you made to be beamed to Latin America.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons that I gave in refusing to answer all of the preceding questions.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to two entries, one made on May 13, and one on May 14, the one of the 13th stating, "Afterwards

there was a meeting," this being in Stockholm, "of the Latin Americans," and on May 14th—

1 shall go to the U.S.S.R.! It seems like a dream! The comrades were very nice. They are paying my expenses from here, their home, to Moscow and back. I will be the first Puerto Rican sent on any mission.

Now please tell this committee what mission it was that the comrades were sending you on beginning on May 14.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, if there is one word, one line, one implication, one suggestion, in anything that I have said, as I have commented in interpreting your diary thus far, please deny it now while you are under oath and correct me.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons for which I refused to answer the preceding question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, I invite your attention to entries in the middle of May, in which you state, going from Stockholm to Helsinki, Finland, that you have gone from there, and you state:

The "Intourist" agent received me, who had wired my departure to Moscow and would not let me pay the fare.

And on May 19:

We arrived at Moscow at 1 p.m. I was received by Comrade Alexis Alexandrovich Rabinoskij, in perfect Spanish, who took me to the Hotel Ykpahz and put me in a luxury suite on the 9th floor overlooking Moscow.

Please tell us the facts and circumstances indicated by these entries in your diary.

Mr. SCHERER. This happened in May: is that right?

Mr. ARENS. May 1959: yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And Khrushchev was here 5 months later, in September.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I refuse to answer this question, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons I gave in refusing to answer the preceding ones.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to direct a question to our counsel.

Mr. Arens, is this witness a citizen of the United States? Does our investigation disclose him to be a citizen of the United States?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir, because as we will hope to show in a few moments, he has attained a United States passport.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask you: What does the Constitution say constitutes treason? Isn't it giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war?

Mr. ARENS. The Constitution describes treason as giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war: yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. We are not engaged in an aggressive, shooting war, but certainly we are engaged in a cold war.

That is nothing to laugh about. This man's loyalty is being purchased with extravagant suites in Moscow by the Soviet Union, by the payment of his expenses, and I don't know how much more money he got. I have no hesitancy in saying what I said. I think his own words out of his own diary indict him.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, I invite your attention to a number of entries which I shall try to summarize: the latter part of May, in which you describe in your diary a number of meetings and sessions in which you participated in Moscow, and in which you describe other sessions in which you participated in other cities within the Soviet Union. I specifically invite your attention to an entry which you made in July, July 24, in which you recount receiving money from Puerto Rico, from Manuel, and certain correspondence which you had with him and certain remittances made by him.

Please tell us the full name of this person in Puerto Rico with the name of Manuel, with whom you had this correspondence while you were in the Soviet empire, and who was making financial remittances to you.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I simply refuse to answer for the same reasons I gave in refusing to answer questions before.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, in your diary there is a complete lapse from May 28 until July 12. We observe from the testimony of the United States Customs Inspector that when you returned to the United States you had certain publications which obviously emanated from Red China.

Without in any sense suggesting that we have concrete information on that, I am asking you whether or not in the period between May 28 and July 12, which is completely without entry in your diary, you traveled from Soviet Russia into Red China. Please answer that question.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Respectfully, Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer this question for the same reason that I refused to answer the preceding ones.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, I am skipping in the diary a number of days, and I am inviting your attention to July 27 and succeeding days, when, according to the diary, you attended—you were again in Paris and attended what you described as a session of the Communist group of the National Assembly in Paris.

Please tell the committee the entire facts and circumstances surrounding that attendance by yourself of a Communist group in Paris in July of this year.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully refuse to answer for the same reasons I gave before.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I respectfully invite your attention to an entry of August 3. I shall read an excerpt from it and try to summarize fairly the remainder. You were then, according to the diary, I should interpose because I have skipped a number of days, in London. The following appears on August 3:

I called at the offices of the Daily Worker today, where I was very cordially received and where I met C [Comrade] Carritt, foreign editor, who offered me all kinds of cooperation, even financial, which I refused, of course, and made an appointment for me for Wednesday.

Please tell the committee the facts and circumstances surrounding your visit to the office of the Communist Daily Worker of London on August 3 of this year.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully refuse to answer for the same reasons given before.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to an entry of August 5, 1959:

I wrote an article for the Daily Worker, which Carritt had requested, on Puerto Rico, the Caribbean, and Latin America.

Can't you tell us about that article that you wrote for this Communist publication? Tell us whether or not that article was in behalf of freedom or in behalf of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully, Mr. Chairman, refuse to answer for the same reasons that I refused to answer the previous questions.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to an item of August 6, 1959, and an item of August 7, 1959. In the first of which you speak of sending articles to Moscow, sending articles to The Worker in New York, and in which you speak, while you are in London, of a visit of a member of a commission from Japan.

Please tell the committee the entire facts and circumstances surrounding this itemized entry.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to remaining articles during the month of August in which you speak of a session with a Comrade Jean Cockburn, a comrade whom you describe as a comrade from Spain, and in which you describe sessions with certain youth who had been in attendance at the Communist Youth Festival in Vienna.

I ask you now to tell this committee the entire facts and circumstances surrounding those various conferences and sessions.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons I have given before.

(Document marked "Enamorado Cuesta Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, I am going to interrogate you with respect to an item which this committee deems to be of deadly importance to the free world. It is a transcript [of the minutes] of the founding meeting of the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America.

The translation from which I shall be interrogating you is a translation of the document which was identified earlier today by an agent of the United States Customs Service as one of the documents which was taken from yourself as you arrived from abroad some few months ago seeking admission to Puerto Rico again.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question of our counsel?

Is this the document to which we referred before as the minutes of this organizational meeting?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. I propose to interrogate the witness on the basis of a translation of the minutes of the meeting held in Moscow in 1959, which minutes in the original Spanish language were seized from the custody of this witness when he sought entry with them into Puerto Rico some few months ago.

Mr. SCHERER. The original minutes seized, were they in typewriting or in handwriting?

Mr. ARENS. The original minutes are right here in Spanish.

Mr. SCHERER. In typewriting or handwriting? Was the diary in handwriting?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. In the handwriting, presumably, of the witness?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Chairman, the counsel for the witness has asked for a translation of what has been said.

Mr. TUCK. Go ahead.

(The translation was delivered by the interpreter.)

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I would like to consult with my counsel, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. You may.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer this question, believing that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons that I have already mentioned in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, you can serve—and we say this without any apology to a living soul—you can serve the cause of the freedom of the West if you will now tell this committee all facts and circumstances in your possession respecting a session held in Moscow of the founding meeting of the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America.

Will you now impart to this committee in this public record, while you are on free soil, all information you have respecting the establishment of that international organization?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully refuse to answer for the same reasons that I gave in refusing to answer the preceding question.

Mr. SCHERER. I think I should make this observation for the witness. If he has any fear of reprisals from the Soviet secret police—wait a minute—if he has any fear of reprisals from the Soviet secret police for what he might tell us, he might as well forget about that because already by his doing what he did, keeping this diary and allowing it to fall into the hands of the United States authorities, and by doing what he did insofar as the minutes of this Communist meeting in Moscow is concerned, if I were he I would not be so concerned as to what the Department of Justice might do in the way of contempt, but I would be concerned with what his Russian comrades are going to do for his foolishness in doing what he did insofar as this diary is concerned.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons I gave before.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention, Mr. Witness, to statements made in this meeting. A man whose name I will have difficulty in pronouncing, but who is designated in the minutes as Deputy, Supreme Soviet, USSR, in which he states that:

* * * the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America, which we are founding today, will take the necessary measures to initiate practical relations and contacts with the said organizations * * *.

Tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not it is or has been part of your assignment to develop the so-called initial, practical relations and contacts with certain organizations on behalf

of the international Communist conspiracy's efforts through this Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I would like to consult with my counsel.
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Could I have the question repeated in English? There is some data, and I don't know if it is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, he is not going to answer the question. They say we have no jurisdiction. I don't see any reason for reading the question.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. There have been made some references to a document and I want to know if we have a right to inspect that document.

Mr. SCHERER. I should say not. If he answers the question, we might let you look at it.

Mr. TUCK. The counsel is entitled to have the question read to his client again.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, in these minutes of this organization which was created in Moscow, we see the list of the officers, including the Commission for the Caribbean Countries. Curiously enough the chairman of the Commission for the Caribbean Countries is listed in this document as Nikolay Nikolaevich Diakonov, of Moscow.

Did you, while you were in Moscow this year, have a session or sessions, or do you have information respecting a session or sessions, held by the Commission for the Caribbean Countries of this new organization under the chairmanship of this man whose name I will spell for you, D-i-a-k-o-n-o-v?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I would like to consult with my counsel, please.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer this question for the same reasons for which I refused to answer the previous questions.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, according to the minutes of this organization, the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America, the president of the association and 15 of the vice presidents all come from behind the Iron Curtain.

Can you tell us, while you are presently under oath, if you, while you were in Moscow on this mission reflected in your diary, were in session either with the president or any of the vice presidents, with reference to your function or activity or any function or activity of this organization, under this or any name, to be operated in the Caribbean?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, with all due respect, I refuse to answer that question for the same reason I gave in refusing to answer the previous ones.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, I have only two more questions.

Question No. 1 is: To your certain knowledge, is the operation of this association, created according to these minutes in Moscow, part and parcel of this program which Mr. Fishman of the Customs Service described this morning as a \$100 million operation by the Commu-

nist empire to penetrate the Spanish-speaking countries of this hemisphere?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Respectfully, Mr. Chairman, and for the same reasons I gave before, I refuse to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, I have one final question.

This final question is: How did you come by these minutes of this organization created in Moscow this year, which minutes were lifted from your possession as you sought entry some few months ago in Puerto Rico?

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I respectfully refuse to answer that question as I have the previous ones.

(Document marked "Enamorado Cuesta Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I owe an apology to counsel. I neglected to cause them to enter their appearance on this record. It was genuinely an oversight. I am sure the committee would appreciate it if you make yourselves known on this record, giving your identifications and addresses.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. I am Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, 1556 Ponce de Leon, Santurce, with Gerardo Ortiz Del Rivero, 650 Ponce de Leon, Santurce; Manuel Abreu Castilla, San Francisco 361, San Juan; Santos P. Amadeo, University of Puerto Rico; Benicio Sanchez Castano, Ochoa Building, San Juan; Felix Ochoteco, Jr., Banco Popular, San Juan; and Pedro Munoz Amato, 1557 Ponce de Leon, Santurce, Puerto Rico.

Mr. TUCK. How many lawyers did the witness have?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Some did not appear today. They were all here this morning, but we didn't enter the appearance this morning.

Mr. TUCK. I am not able to understand or speak Spanish, but I would like to know how many lawyers are representing this one witness.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. How many? All of us.

Mr. TUCK. How many?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. This afternoon the four of us were here.

Mr. TUCK. Any other lawyers besides yourself?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes. As of counsel this morning, appeared eight lawyers. It is a large group of witnesses and we are assisting them. So some lawyers assist some witnesses, and some other witnesses.

Mr. TUCK. The question I asked was how many represented one witness.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. You can have for the record that I represented him with Mr. Del Rivero.

Mr. DEL RIVERO. Both of us.

Mr. TUCK. Counsel, have you other questions?

Mr. ARENS. No more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Scherer, have you any questions?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness a number of questions, but obviously he would refuse to answer my questions, the same as he has refused to answer all questions up to this point.

Therefore, I am going to make a statement and an observation.

If anything I say in this observation or statement is untrue, then I am going to ask the witness to be given an opportunity to say in what respect what I say is not in accordance with the facts.

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. I would like to consult with counsel.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ENAMORADO CUESTA. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully refuse to answer for the same reasons I refused to answer preceding questions.

Mr. SCHERER. This morning at the beginning of the hearings, Mr. Chairman, it was pointed out that: the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was a Communist-controlled and Communist-dominated organization, operating in the continental United States; that its chairman is an identified Communist presently under indictment; that its executive director, Clark Foreman, came to San Juan prior to these committee hearings; and that he followed the usual course that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has followed in going into cities prior to the committee hearings and organizing groups to protest the meetings of the committee and to attack the committee.

In Pittsburgh, as well as some other cities, it was clearly shown by the evidence that Clark Foreman, who has been here in San Juan for the same purpose, met a number of days in advance with the witnesses who had been identified as Communists, with their lawyers, to prepare the testimony and to advise them how to act before this committee. He did this in addition to arranging for the protest meetings, the picketing, and the other things that take place when this committee meets in order to disrupt the hearings. I pointed out that Foreman is not a Puerto Rican.

Yesterday he issued a press release, which I have here from the local press. This release says the director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Clark Foreman, of New York, said in San Juan this morning that the House Un-American Activities Committee, due to start here tomorrow, is in for a surprise.

It is obvious that he has again been cooperating with the Communists in preparing the demonstrations against the committee, in causing the agitation that has taken place up to this point here in San Juan.

The surprise, to which Foreman refers, of course, is obvious to all people, namely, that the witnesses are going to take the position of refusing to answer any questions of this committee on the ground that the committee had no jurisdiction to meet in Puerto Rico. That is the surprise, because heretofore it was supposed that the witnesses would invoke the fifth amendment in refusing to answer.

I have been reliably informed by members of this Bar, reputable members of the Puerto Rican Bar, that this same Clark Foreman, representing this Communist organization, participated in the preparation, again—you have heard him on your radio—participated in the preparation of the documents which were submitted to this committee, in which the witnesses argue the point that this committee has no jurisdiction in the island of Puerto Rico.

I think the people of Puerto Rico would resent the intrusion of such an organization into Puerto Rico and its participation in broadcasts, in advance of the committee's appearance. He has a perfect right to do what he has done, but I think people should know who he is,

what he is, what his history is, and what this committee which he represents is, so that the people of Puerto Rico will not be fooled by the name of the committee, which is an appealing one, namely, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and so that they might better evaluate what he says.

Mr. DEL RIVERO. Do I have permission to address the Chair?

I am one of the lawyers assigned by the Bar Association of Puerto Rico. I wish to state something because Congressman Scherer stated—

Mr. TUCK. If you have any statement to make, you can make it in writing and file it with counsel.

Mr. DEL RIVERO. This is a question—

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully beg your attention for a minute. We are members of the Puerto Rican Bar, and we have appeared before this committee, sir, to assist the witnesses, without compensation, by designation by the president of the Puerto Rican Bar Association.

I wish to afford this committee the benefit of testimony under oath. I am willing to take the oath right now and declare to this committee under oath, so that I may be prosecuted for perjury, that this is a lie, that anyone who comes here to take—

Mr. TUCK. Let us have order. It is against the rules of this committee to have any such demonstrations as that. If the Chair hears any more noises of that kind, he will request the marshal to empty the room. The counsel has made a statement in which he denies, and that is all.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Sir, I do know that you have a sense of fairness, and I trust the sense of fairness of this committee. I wish to convey to you that I am ready with all my friends and lawyers who assisted me in the preparation of the briefs, to testify under oath that there was no assistance whatsoever.

Mr. TUCK. As a member of the Bar of Puerto Rico, we will accept your statements for whatever they will be worth.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. I respectfully state I am glad this corrects the wrong reflection that would have reflected on the Board, on the Bar, and this committee. I do know you have a great interest in preserving the sense of fairness.

Mr. SCHERER. What I said I got from two outstanding, reputable members of this Bar, who told me what I just repeated. There is nothing wrong in your accepting the suggestions of anyone as to what you should or should not do. There is nothing wrong in that.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. I think lawyers should, when drafting a legal document and assisting in a professional capacity, should accept no assistance except from lawyers.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair understands that the counsel takes full responsibility for the statements filed with the committee.

The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. TUCK. The committee will come to order.

Before we call the next witness, may the Chair say that he does not understand Spanish at all and does not understand very much the English spoken by some of those in the room, but I was informed by one of the members of the Puerto Rican Bar Association that these gentlemen appearing as counsel for the witnesses are appearing here

without compensation and are representatives in the court of record of the Bar Association.

I happen to be a member of the Virginia State Bar Association for 40 years and the American Bar Association. I would like to say that, in my opinion, these gentlemen have conducted themselves in a manner that meets the standards, the highest standards, set by the traditions and the history of the American Bar Association and the lawyers who are members of that association.

I would like also to say that it is the policy of this committee when persons appear without counsel, and they wish counsel but are unable to employ counsel, that we always make an effort to see that they have the benefit of counsel provided for them by members of the Bar Association where the committee may be sitting.

In this case, these gentlemen appear here as representatives of the Bar Association for all these people. I want the official record to show that, and I want them to know, as well as others present, that we appreciate the high professional ethics demonstrated by them on this occasion by reason of that act.

Call your next witness.

Mr. DEL RIVERO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of all my brother attorneys.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Manuel Arroyo Zeppenfeldt.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give this subcommittee of the House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, at this time in this proceeding I wish to convey to the committee that the witness has informed me that although he can read English and understand a little bit, when spoken in the usual fashion in which this proceeding takes place, he has some difficulty in grasping the meaning of the sentences.

At this point I beg the committee to be kind enough to follow the same procedure with the use of an interpreter as in the first case.

Mr. TUCK. We will do that. But do I understand that he answers the oath in the affirmative?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MANUEL ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. May I have a 5-minute recess? I haven't talked to him.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, any time, we are ready.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. Manuel Arroyo Zeppenfeldt. I live in K-7, Las Lomas, Rio Piedras, and I am a commission agent.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in the written statement that I gave to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in the written statement that I gave to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel who is sitting next to the witness, will you kindly identify yourself for this record and will you be good enough to announce to the committee that you represent the witness?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes. My name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez and I represent the witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, a few minutes ago we concluded the testimony of Jose Enamorado Cuesta, at which time we interrogated him with respect to a trip which he made to Moscow.

In the course of that interrogation, we asked him about certain contacts he had, certain correspondence, and exchange of information with a man described in his diary by the name of Manual Arroyo.

I asked Mr. Enamorado Cuesta if the man described in this diary was yourself and he refused to answer. I now ask you, sir—

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Let me complete my question.

I now ask you, sir, were you, during the course of the last several months, in continuous or almost continuous contact in Moscow and other places behind the Iron Curtain, exchanging information with Jose Enamorado Cuesta?

You are reading now from a prepared statement?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons that I set forth in the written statement that I gave to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. You are reading your response from a prepared statement; is that correct?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Are you the publisher or the printer of *Pueblo*, one of the Communist Party publications distributed in San Juan, Puerto Rico?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question for the same reasons I gave a few moments ago to another question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, we display to you an original edition of *Pueblo* of October 1959, and ask you to kindly glance at it and tell this committee, while you are under oath, if it is not a fact that you are the printer or the publisher, producer, of that publication?

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question for the same reasons I have set forth before.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, on January 4, 1959, in concert with Jose Enamorado Cuesta, have a session in San Juan with a group which came from New York City?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TUCK. The reasons which you have given are not satisfactory to the committee. We do not accept them. We reject them. The committee, therefore, directs and orders you to answer the last preceding question, as well as all of the questions which counsel has previously asked you.

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. Without indicating any lack of respect for this committee, I should like to refuse to answer this question and any others which might be posed to me.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this very instant, a member of that conspiratorial force known as the Communist Party?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I move that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee does not wish to be repetitious, but in order that the record may be entirely straight in this matter—and feeling, too, that the committee wants to warn the witness that he may find himself involved in some future difficulties of a criminal nature with the United States Department of Justice with the record that is now being made up—it will most likely be referred to them to rule on such action as they may deem appropriate. In the light of the preliminary statements, the committee now informs the witness that it does not accept his reasons and, therefore, orders and directs him to answer the question.

Does the witness still refuse to answer?

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I do not want my answer to be interpreted as a lack of respect for this committee, but I respectfully refuse to answer this and any other questions which might be posed to me for the same reasons that I presented in the written statement given to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, this morning, Mr. Irving Fishman, of the United States Customs Bureau, testified based upon a study of that agency, the international Communist operation now has a campaign developing, costing in the neighborhood of \$100 million, for the purpose of attempting to condition and penetrate the Spanish-speaking countries of this hemisphere, and he testified about Communist propaganda which is being disseminated in this area.

In the course of the last hour or so, we likewise interrogated a man who brought into this country minutes of the meeting forming an international organization, in which minutes it speaks of the development of relationships between this international Communist organization and groups of organizations all through Latin America.

I ask you now, sir, while you are under oath, if you have firsthand information respecting that program of penetration by this Godless conspiratorial force known as international communism and its efforts to penetrate Spanish-speaking countries of this hemisphere.

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that ques-

tion because I maintain that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons that I have set forth in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness now again be ordered and directed to answer the question, and that he be advised that if he does not understand the pertinency or relevancy of the questions we shall be glad to explain them to him.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is advised that if he does not understand the relevancy or the purpose of the question which has just been asked him, which he declined to answer, we will be glad to explain it to him.

The committee further warns the witness, without any thought of threatening him in any manner, what may happen to him if he refuses to answer. The chairman of the committee now directs and orders the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. Without indicating a lack of respect for this committee, I refuse to answer this question and any other questions which might be posed to me for the reasons I have already given.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, Mr. Fishman testified this morning that Puerto Rico is now a nerve center for the transhipment of Communist Spanish propaganda to other Spanish-speaking countries of this hemisphere.

I put it to you as a fact, sir, based upon information which has come to this committee from investigative sources that you are one of the architects of the dissemination of that Communist propaganda which comes via San Juan to other Spanish-speaking lands of this hemisphere.

If that is not a fact, sir, deny it now, please, while you are under oath.

Mr. ARROYO ZEPPENFELDT. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in my written statement given to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness. We didn't proceed quite as fast this afternoon as we had originally anticipated. There are some witnesses who were subpoenaed for appearance today whom we will not reach today.

I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the Chair announce and order that all witnesses who were subpoenaed for appearance today who have not been called will be required to be present tomorrow.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair orders all witnesses who have been subpoenaed for today, and who have not been called, to appear here tomorrow in this room at 10 o'clock.

The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 4:48 p.m. Wednesday, November 18, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, November 19, 1959.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO

(San Juan, Puerto Rico—Part 2)

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
San Juan, Puerto Rico.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:45 a.m., in the United States Courthouse, Hon. William M. Tuck, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives William M. Tuck, of Virginia, and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams and William Margetich, investigators; Fulton Lewis III, research analyst.

Also present: Donald F. Barnes, senior interpreter, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will be in order.

The committee recognizes Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, we would like at this time to call Mr. Emmanuelli Morales. The first name, as I have it, is Juan. Juan Emmanuelli Morales.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Excuse me—

Mr. TUCK. Come forward.

Mr. ARENS. Juan Emmanuelli Morales.

Will the marshal or the deputy marshal page him in the corridors, please?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Emmanuelli was subpoenaed for the 19th, which is today, isn't it? And it was understood yesterday that those subpoenaed for the 18th were to be taken up—

Mr. ARENS. Do you represent Mr. Emmanuelli Morales?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Emmanuelli; yes. Therefore, we have the witnesses left over from yesterday here this morning, the ones that were subpoenaed for the 18th. We have some left. That is why Mr. Morales and some of the others that were subpoenaed for today haven't arrived, because we were under the impression that today we were going to take up the following, which were left over from yesterday after the chairman announced that those who were not taken up yesterday were going to be taken up today. That is, Juan Santos Rivera.

Mr. ARENS. Will Mr. Emmanuelli Morales be here this afternoon?

Mr. GONZALEZ. He will be here this afternoon.

Mr. TUCK. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, before calling the next witness, if it meets with the pleasure of the committee, in order that the importance of the work which the committee is undertaking to do here, and which it had heretofore been undertaking to do in New York City, on the problem of the Communist drive in Latin America, I thought it would be well, as something more than a coincidence, that our record today reflect two or three items which appear in the current press.

In the Miami Herald, which is issued under the date of Thursday, November 19, 1959, we observe a headline "U.S. Told to Brace for Reds' Latin Drive," with a Washington dateline.

The following appears among other items, on the front page of the Miami Herald:

A study prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee warned the U.S. Wednesday to brace itself for increased Russian efforts to infiltrate Latin America "for an indefinite period" ahead. The study, prepared by the University of New Mexico, said the social revolution now in progress south of the border not only will continue but will speed up because the people of the area are determined to catch up with more advanced nations. "Because this social upheaval will offer new opportunities for the Communists to exploit, the Soviet Union will place increased energies into turning this revolution of rising expectations to their own imperialistic advantage," the study said.

Mr. ARENS. My purpose in directing this article to the attention of the committee is to have the record show that another group is likewise concerned over the Red drive for Latin America.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that in this morning's Miami Herald?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TUCK. Before you get away from that first article, do I understand that is a report made up by a committee that is independent of this committee—by the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate?

Mr. ARENS. This is a report prepared for the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which warns of this Red drive for Latin America.

I shall not impose on the time of the committee to read all of the article. I respectfully suggest that this article, in toto, however be incorporated in the record.

Mr. TUCK. So ordered.

(Committee Exhibit No. 1 follows:)

[The Miami Herald, Thursday, November 19, 1959]

U.S. Told to Brace for Reds' Latin Drive

WARNED OF SOCIAL PRESSURE

STUDY SIGHTS TENSION HIKE

WASHINGTON (UPI).—A study prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee warned the U.S. Wednesday to brace itself for increased Russian efforts to infiltrate Latin America "for an indefinite period" ahead.

The study, prepared by the University of New Mexico, said the social revolution now in progress south of the border not only will continue but will speed up because the people of the area are determined to catch up with more advanced nations.

"Because this social upheaval will offer new opportunities for the Communists to exploit, the Soviet Union will place increased energies into turning this 'revolution of rising expectations' to their own imperialistic advantage," the study said.

"The U.S., whose security interests will thereby be increasingly threatened, will have to intensify its efforts to resist this challenge, and, as a result, the prospect is for an indefinite period of cold war tension in the Latin American area."

The report was prepared by Miguel Jorrin and Edwin Lieuwen of the university's School of Inter-American Affairs. It was the first of several commissioned by the Foreign Relations subcommittee on American republic affairs.

The group, headed by Sen. Wayne L. Morse (D. Ore.), is making a \$150,000 study of the U.S.'s hemispheric relations. Morse said the report did not necessarily reflect the subcommittee's views but that it would be used as a basis for study.

The study charged that U.S. relations with Latin America since World War II have been characterized by too much emphasis on military aid, too little concern with the problem of dictators and inadequate economic aid.

To correct these situations, the report recommended:

"A disarmament program for Latin America and abandonment of the use of military programs as a means to win the political support of the Latin American military leaders."

"The U.S., both in its aid program and general attitude, (should) make more distinction between high-handed military dictatorship and struggling civilian democracy."

"The U.S. should develop long-range economic assistance policies, based less upon a concern for sound banking and business principles . . . and more upon the value to the U.S. security system of Latin America's friendship and cooperation.

State Department officials made clear they did not share many of the views expressed by the study. They have found little enthusiasm, for example, for unilateral disarmament in Latin America and think the U.S. would be hurt if it proposed disarmament.

The authors of the report also recommended that the U.S. continue to abide by the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of its neighbor republics and adopt a stronger anticolonialist point of view.

The study said a policy of promoting disarmament in the hemisphere "would draw Latin American public opinion to our side, relieve us of much of the onus of supporting unpopular governments and allow the savings on arms to be plowed into economically productive endeavors."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, the Miami Herald likewise—I will not impose upon the committee's time to read the entire article—today carries on its front page "Mexico Welcomes Mikoyan"; also "Reds Open Drive For Cuban Labor."

On the second page we observe an article from the Miami Herald which, of course, is not evidence; it is not evidentiary in the legal sense, and yet it is something that ought to give us a sober approach to the work which this committee is trying to accomplish.

Pravda, which, of course, is a Communist publication in Moscow, "points out Soviet-Latin amity." It gives a Moscow dateline and says "Soviet leaders were told Wednesday 'revolutionary battles in Venezuela, and the heroic struggle of the Cuban people for their independence' show that Latin America is awakening to a big thaw in its relations with the Communist world."

Those of us who have spent some period of their lives studying this international Communist operation and Communist jargon realize what they mean when they speak of a thaw in the relations of Latin America with the Communist world.

I hope I have not unduly trespassed on the time of the committee by calling the committee's attention to these current articles from authoritative sources, respecting the same general subject matter which is the concern of this committee in this hearing.

Mr. TUCK. The committee feels that the material is very pertinent and will, therefore, be incorporated by reference in the record.

(Articles marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 2, 3 and 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Juan Saez Corales.

Mr. TUCK. Does he speak English?

Will you raise your right hand. Be sworn, please.

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF JUAN SAEZ CORALES, ACCCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ; SANTOS P. AMADEO; PRAXELES
ALVEREZ LEANDRI; MAX GOLDMAN; AND MARCOS A. RAMIREZ
(DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. My name is Juan Saez Corales. I live in Bayamon, and I sell office equipment and commercial machinery.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. Yesterday I submitted a written statement to the committee in which I expressed my conviction that I was appearing in these hearings as a courtesy to the Congress of the United States, but that because of the fact that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation in Puerto Rico, I would respectfully refuse to answer this or any other question that might be posed to me during this hearing.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer that question as I did the preceding one.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. My name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez. I am representing this witness with the counsel which are here which, together with me, were designated by the Bar Association to represent him.

Mr. TUCK. Do you represent him?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes.

Mr. TUCK. Name the counsel appearing with you.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. I have Mr. Max Goldman, Professor Santos Amadeo, Mr. Marcos Ramirez and Mr. Praxeles Leandri, whose addresses have been already stated for the record yesterday.

Mr. TUCK. Thank you.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Saez Corales, I expect, in the course of this interrogation, to pose a number of questions to you which this committee feels must be asked in order to attempt to elicit information from you for the legislative purposes of this committee.

If there is any question which I ask you which you do not understand, or concerning the pertinency or relevancy of the question to the subject under inquiry, please ask me about them and I will be glad in response to any question which you pose—indicating uncertainty or indicating a lack of comprehension of its relevancy or pertinency—to give you a complete, detailed explanation.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. Respectfully, I once again refuse to answer this question in accordance with my already established position that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation.

Mr. ARENS. I am uncertain, Mr. Reporter, whether or not the witness has given us his address, because of the language problem here. I am not certain I got it. Can you tell me whether or not your notes reflect his address?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. He lives at J-7, Lomas Verdes, Bayamon, Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, do you receive your mail at this address which the counsel has just announced into the record?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer once again because I believe that this committee has no jurisdiction to carry out this investigation.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic copy of an application filed by yourself on December 22, 1953, with the United States postal authorities, soliciting a post office box, in which the records reflect here was given to you, Box No. 2583, bearing your signature, Juan Saez Corales.

Please look at this document which is now being displayed to you and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of the application filed by yourself for a post office box.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. At any time, whenever you want to consult your counsel, you just consult your counsel; consult all five of them, anytime you want to.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer on the grounds that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair feels at this point that it should advise the witness or warn him—or issue a proclamation of warning—to the effect that he may endanger his own liberty or become involved in some serious matter with the Department of Justice of the United States if he persists in refusing to answer this question.

After giving that warning, I order and direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully would like to state for the record that I will not answer any questions posed during these hearings to me because I consider that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings.

(Document marked "Saez Corales Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I consider that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The reasons assigned by the witness for not answering the question are insufficient and do not satisfy the committee. The committee, therefore, orders and directs the witness to answer the question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully would like to state once again for the record that yesterday I presented a document to the committee giving the reasons why I believe that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings and, therefore, for the same reasons I respectfully refuse to answer any question that might be posed to me during these hearings.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, over the course of 2 years' time in the investigative techniques of this Committee on Un-American Activities, the committee has been able to ascertain the messages which have been received by you at this Box No. 2583, and some of the messages that have gone in the other direction.

I should like now to ask you specifically respecting certain messages and certain material—which from the investigative techniques of this committee—you have received from known international agents of the Communist conspiracy as a Communist functioning here in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer this and any other questions that might be posed to me during the course of these hearings because I consider that the committee has no authority to hold these hearings.

Mr. ARENS. First of all I should like to inquire if you have a recollection of receiving on January 8, 1958, a message destined to you at Box No. 2583 from Bucharest, Rumania. I am not speaking now of literature. I expect to get into that later. But a message, a directive, from Bucharest, Rumania, on January 8, 1958. Please respond to my question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. For the same reasons that I have already given, I would respectfully refuse to answer this question and any others that you may ask of me.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that on January 8, 1958, you as a Communist functionary in Puerto Rico received a directive from Bucharest, Rumania, received via Box No. 2583.

If that is not a fact, please deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer this question for the reasons that I have already stated, that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, in New York City just a few days ago, this committee interrogated an identified functionary or agent of the Communist conspiracy by the name of Ramon Acevedo. I do not at the instant have before my eyes the specific dates, but from the investigative techniques of this committee, this committee knows that you have been receiving and exchanging information via Box No. 2583 here in Puerto Rico with Ramon Acevedo, whom the committee interrogated just a few days ago.

I put it to you as a fact, sir, that what I have said is true and correct. Please affirm or deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer this question for the reasons that I gave before.

Mr. ARENS. Now sir, I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee orders and directs the witness to answer the question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. The witness, consistent with the position he has already established, respectfully wishes to state again that he will not answer this question or any other that might be posed to him by the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Via the investigative techniques of this committee, this committee has learned that beginning on December 18, 1957, you have been in an exchange via Box No. 2583, of Communist directives, orders and exchanges of information with a Communist functionary in New York City whose address is 43 West 109th Street, New York, and whose name is Bill Albertson.

While you are under oath, please affirm or deny that information.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I consider that the committee has no jurisdiction to carry out this investigation in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be informed that his response is not accepted by the committee and that he is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair at this point informs the witness that the committee is not satisfied with his reasons and does not accept his reasons for not answering these questions.

The Chair now specifically orders the witness and directs him to answer the previous question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer this question and any other that might be posed to me by the committee because I believe that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, via the investigative techniques of this committee, the committee has acquired information that beginning on January 10, 1958, you have been engaged in a series of exchanges of directives and messages with a functionary of the international Communist apparatus in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

While you are under oath, please affirm or deny the validity of that information.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer this question for the reasons that I have already stated several times.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be informed that his answer is not acceptable to the committee and that he be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee informs the witness that his answer is not accepted and he is, therefore, ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully maintain my position that I will refuse to answer this question because the committee has no jurisdiction to ask it.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, it is the information of this committee, from its investigative techniques, that via Box No. 2583, you have been in an exchange of messages with an international Communist functionary in Vera Cruz, Mexico.

While you are under oath, please affirm or deny the validity of that information.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is further informed that the committee does not accept his reasons for not answering the question. He is ordered and directed to answer the specific question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I would respectfully like to submit once more that since I consider that the committee does not have any jurisdiction to hold these meetings in Puerto Rico, I do not feel obligated to answer these questions.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, it is the information of this committee through the use of its investigative techniques that using the facilities of Box No. 2583 over the course of the last several years, you have been a regular importer of Communist publications, principally from the mainland.

These publications include the Communist Worker, they include Masses and Mainstream, subsequently retitled Mainstream; they include Political Affairs, they include the National Guardian, and a number of publications issued by New Century Publishers in New York City, which is a Communist publishing house.

I ask you please, sir, while you are under oath, to confirm or deny the validity of that information.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I consider that this committee does not have jurisdiction to hold these investigations in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, yesterday a reputable, competent servant of this Government, Mr. Irving Fishman, who has been making a study of Communist propaganda in connection with the Post Office Department, testified before this committee that, among other things, the Communists now have a \$100 million campaign for Communist propaganda, anti-American propaganda, beamed at the Spanish-speaking countries of this hemisphere, and that Puerto Rico was a nerve center for the direction and control of the flow of that Communist propaganda.

Do you, sir, presently have information respecting that operation which you can now make available to your Government via this committee so that your Government can, in the discharge of its legislative functions, undertake to cope with this menace to freedom of the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be advised that his answer is not sufficient, the committee does not accept it, and that he be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee reaffirms what it has already said, that the committee is not satisfied with the reasons assigned by the witness, and does not accept his answer as legally justifiable for his refusal to answer.

The Chair directs the witness and orders him to answer the immediately preceding question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. The witness would like to reaffirm that this committee has no jurisdiction, in the understanding of the witness, to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico and, therefore, respectfully refuses to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, when this committee left New York City some two or three days ago to come to San Juan on these particular hearings, we noticed that on the very plane which brought us to San Juan, were two or three of the comrades whom we had interrogated in New York City, as hard-core members of the conspiracy.

Have you, since this committee arrived in San Juan, been in session with any of the comrades who have recently arrived from New York City?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I consider that the committee has no jurisdiction to carry out this investigation in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. One of the comrades, Mr. Witness, is seated here in the hearing room. I see him now in the second row, the third from my left here.

Would you kindly look over your right shoulder and view the man seated there, the second row, the third man from the wall, and tell this committee whether or not you have been in session with him since this committee arrived in San Juan?

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. In accordance with my position already established, I respectfully refuse to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. I think there should be a direction by the chairman to have this man follow the instruction of at least looking. He didn't ask him to answer any question. He just asked him to look at the party.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair directs and orders the witness to respond to the question.

Mr. SAEZ CORALES. I would respectfully like to inform the committee that in accordance with the position that I have already established, the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico. I shall refuse to answer any questions or to look or to do anything else which the committee may direct me to do.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. I think the record should reflect the fact that the witness did not look—

Mr. TUCK. We are not going to have any demonstration here.

Mr. SCHERER. The record should reflect the fact that the witness did not look at the party designated by counsel. The record would not show that the witness failed to comply with the direction of counsel and the Chair. That is the reason I ask the record reflect it by my statement.

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Detective Mildred Blauvelt.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand, please?

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give to the Committee on Un-American Activities will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MILDRED BLAUVELT

MR. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

MRS. BLAUVELT. I am Mildred Blauvelt. I am a detective with the New York City Police Department, assigned to the Bureau of Special Services. I live in the city of New York.

MR. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, would you give us on this record just a brief résumé of your career as an undercover agent in the Communist conspiracy at the behest and service of your Government?

MRS. BLAUVELT. I became a member of the New York City Police Department in December of 1942, and upon entrance into the department was assigned by them to infiltrate the Communist Party as an undercover agent.

I succeeded in doing so by becoming a member of the Communist Party in April of 1943. I was expelled from the Communist Party in September 1943, but gained reentrance into the party once again in April of 1944, and stayed in the Communist Party until my expulsion in November of 1951.

MR. ARENS. Have you, since your expulsion from the Communist Party, pursued your duties up to the present moment as one who is acquiring information by your investigative techniques of Communist Party infiltration and activities?

MRS. BLAUVELT. Yes. This has been a continuing assignment since the time of my expulsion.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, might I respectfully suggest that the Chair might call for order?

MR. TUCK. Let us have order, please.

Proceed.

MR. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, will you give us a word, based upon your experience in the party, and upon your experience as a detective presently studying the Communist operation, concerning each of certain publications which I want to call to your attention?

First of all, what is The Worker?

MRS. BLAUVELT. The Worker is the official organ of the Communist Party. It reflects the Communist Party line and is used by the Communist Party members as a means of receiving directives from the party as to the policy to be pursued by them in the conduct of their activities.

MR. ARENS. I would like to have you clarify that a little more, elaborate on it.

Based upon your knowledge of Communist jargon and Communist techniques, how does any agent, functionary, or member of the Communist Party, when he gets the Worker, receive from it a directive?

MRS. BLAUVELT. Any Communist Party functionary, upon reading The Worker, will realize from his knowledge of Marxism-Leninism the precise manner in which a Communist Party directive is being given to him. That Communist Party directive will be given to the rank and file members at party meetings to be disseminated by them to the contacts which they have made on the outside of the party.

MR. ARENS. In other words, a Communist who reads The Worker or any of the Communist publications, because of the discipline and training he has in communism, knows what he should do, what his cell, what his group should do in response to the directive

announced in the publication, even though a non-Communist might not be able to perceive it or understand it; is that correct?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is very correct. May I add that *The Worker* is required reading on the part of Communist Party members.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the publication formerly known as *Masses* and *Mainstream*, now known as *Mainstream*?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. That is the cultural organ of the Communist Party. That, too, is bought by the Communist Party members at their party meetings, and, in turn, is supposed to be used by them for propaganda on the outside of the party, with the people with whom they come into contact.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, both *The Worker* and *Mainstream* are bibles, as it were, from which the Communists take action; is that correct?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. They are not so much a newspaper in the sense that one would read an ordinary newspaper published by non-Communist people?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the publication, *Political Affairs*?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. *Political Affairs* is the theoretical organ of the Communist Party and I think you will find on its masthead that it describes itself as the magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. This publication also is sold to the Communist Party members at party meetings and again is to be used by them on the outside for the dissemination of the party line among their contacts.

Mr. ARENS. Is it true that these publications which I have just mentioned are principally, if not exclusively, for comrades, for Communists?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. First and foremost they are, yes, but they are also supposed to be used by the comrades to influence those with whom they come into contact.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to this type of publication which the Communist conspiracy produces for the Communists themselves, does the conspiracy produce material which is designed to condition the mind of non-Communists so as to have a favorable reaction for the Communist Party program in any particular area?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. I would say that that type of publication would come under the classification of front propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. But is it controlled by the conspiracy?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. It is controlled by the Communist Party; yes.

Mr. ARENS. In volume of material, does the conspiracy produce more of the material which is designed for the hard-core Communist or more of the material which is designed to have an impact on the mind of the non-Communist?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I think there probably might be some equalization between the two. The party members naturally must have as much party doctrine as possible fed to them, I would say daily, weekly, and monthly, and the Communist Party does so through the medium of *The Worker* and through the medium of monthly publications, such as *Mainstream* and *Political Affairs*.

However, in order to reach—as the party usually calls this tactic of getting to the people—in order to reach the general public to influence them, it will very often publish a great bulk of material which is designed specifically to reach the people, masked in the subtleties of propaganda, as only the Communist Party is quite capable of doing.

Mr. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, based upon your background and experience, tell us what is New Century Publishers in New York City.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. New Century Publishers is the successor to International Publishers. It publishes, I would say, the great bulk of Communist Party material which goes to party people and to the outside—the people outside of the party.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Communist Party a political party?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. The Communist Party is not a political party in the sense that we know a political party but, of course, it likes to use the term of political party. It is actually an organization based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which it says are the scientific principles of socialism.

Mr. ARENS. Is a member of the Communist Party a member of a political party or is he, in effect, an agent of Moscow on the soil on which he functions?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. He is an agent of the Communist conspiracy within the organization in which he works in any particular country; for instance, in our country, the United States, it would be the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. The most shocking thing to those of us who spend full time in studying this conspiratorial operation, which we feel is winning on every front, both internationally and domestically, is the failure of the intellectuals of the free world to comprehend the significance of the relatively few dedicated hard-core members of the conspiracy.

Within Puerto Rico it is our estimate that the numbers numerically, the Communist Party members, are relatively small, there is no question about that, as they are now numerically small in Soviet Russia, as they were numerically small in Guatemala, as they were numerically small in every country which the conspiracy has taken over.

Can you tell us, based upon your background and experience, the significance of a small, hard-core, dedicated number of conspirators and how they go about their work on behalf of the conspiracy?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. I would say that the Communist Party does not essentially depend upon volume of membership to project its aims. It will depend a great deal on just a handful of very active, very vociferous Communists whom they can use as leaders of the people.

This, I think, is particularly true of what are called minority groups. I know that in the Communist Party in New York, and particularly in the Boro Hall Section of Brooklyn where I was active, that the party depended upon just a small number, maybe not even more than a half-dozen of hard-core Communists, to spew the propaganda of the party line among the Puerto Ricans living there, using as the basis for their entrance into the Puerto Rican community the socio-economic conditions with which the Puerto Ricans were confronted.

Mr. ARENS. What is the relationship between the functions or activities of a member of the conspiracy in San Juan and a member of the conspiracy in Moscow?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I would say that any functionary, no matter where he is, whether it is New York or San Juan, is under the domination of party policy as it is directed from Moscow, and there is no escape from that domination or control.

Mr. ARENS. Has the Communist Party in its history ever taken over a single country of the one-third of the globe they now control by the willing vote of its subjects?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. No, sir; I would say not, from my observation.

Mr. ARENS. What are the devices or means used by the conspiracy in order to attain its objectives?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. They use the very issues which are of particular interest to the people with whom they are dealing. If I may go back to my testimony in New York, I would say that among the Puerto Ricans there they use the very issues which are of daily concern to the Puerto Ricans, their housing, their rents, their wages, their jobs, and what they wish to impose upon them is the idea that they are being discriminated against and exploited by the imperialism of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Communist Party have a genuine concern for the plight of the underprivileged, a genuine concern for housing problems, for wage problems and the like?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. No. I would say its concern is not a genuine one. It is merely a ruse on the part of the Communist Party to permit it to get into the confidence of these people, and more or less brainwash them to think as the party wishes them to think.

Mr. ARENS. Why, based upon your background and study, does the conspiracy covet, seek to influence, seek to penetrate the Puerto Rican nationality bloc in New York City and seek to exercise and influence and empower what Mr. Fishman described as this nerve center here in Puerto Rico?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I think that its aim among the Puerto Ricans in New York as a nationality minority, as well as the Puerto Ricans in the island itself, is not interest so much in their welfare, so much concern about their welfare, but is more an interest in attempting to lead them to socialism through what the party calls the liberation of Puerto Rico from the yoke of United States imperialism.

Mr. ARENS. When you use the word "socialism," are you using Communist jargon?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. That is the term that the party uses in the projection of communism as the ultimate result of the establishment first of socialism within a country.

Mr. ARENS. Detective Blauvelt, I think it needs no emphasis on my part that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Yesterday we confronted a witness with the minutes—I believe you were present in the hearing room—

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, I was.

Mr. ARENS. We confronted a witness with the minutes of an association formed in Moscow recently called the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America.

Notwithstanding the fact that this committee was lambasted unmercifully in the press this morning for what appeared to be, according to certain writers, figments of someone's imagination about this

Communist operation, just this morning from Washington we have a dateline of a study made for the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the increased Communist efforts to infiltrate Latin America and the like.

We turn the page, and we see an article from *Pravda*, a Communist publication in Moscow, speaking about the awakening to the thaw in its relations with the Communist world.

Bearing in mind the testimony we have had thus far and these two news items which confirm the fundamental thesis of this committee that there is something to be definitely concerned about, and that the chief objective of the Communist Party at the moment is to create a spirit of apathy among the individuals, particularly the intellectuals and the opinion-formers, tell us, based upon your background and experience, how can we expect this program of the Communist conspiracy—to undertake to penetrate Latin America—to progress? How will they go about it? What can be done to try to head it off?

Tell us if you please, based upon your background and experience, what your reaction is to this Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With the Countries of Latin America created in Moscow this year.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. From what I have heard presented in testimony here, it is clear that this organization is meant to be a party front propaganda organization dominated by Moscow and is meant to be a link between the party and the people of Latin America.

Mr. ARENS. Will the party never come out in Latin America and say, "We are Communists; we are part of a conspiracy; we want everybody to join the Communist Party?"

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Absolutely not.

Mr. ARENS. The objective of the Communist Party international operation is conquest of the world and not conversion to communism; isn't that correct?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is Soviet Russia today only 3-percent Communist?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Based upon your background and experience as a student of international communism, as well as one who served in the conspiracy at the behest of your Government, tell us what tactics we may expect in this new organization, which has been made light of by certain intellectuals who attempt to brainwash the people of this great island as to the serious menace which is developing in Latin America.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. From my experience within the party and also from my study of the Communist Party and its front organizations, I would say that Communist Party tactics in establishing such an organization as this in Latin America, would follow the same basic pattern that has been used in the past.

If you will bear with me as I go into the mechanics on the establishment of such an organization, probably I could illustrate just how it would be done.

For instance, such an organization would have to be broad enough in scope to appeal to the masses to meet with any degree of success, and the party apparatus would be put into motion to achieve that success. National organizations would have to be established in each

country to be involved, and branches would have to be established in various sections of these countries, particularly in large cities.

Individuals other than party members would be invited to head this organization at its various levels for the purpose of giving this organization the aura of legitimacy and respectability, and well-meaning individuals who are well known to the public at large would be solicited to lend their endorsement, their support, and sponsorship to such an organization to add to the prestige of the organization.

However, in all of this, the party would see that its party members who are well versed in party organizational work would be placed in the executive positions in this organization, so that the organization would have the proper guidance to follow the party line and thus guarantee that party policies were being carried out within the organization and that its activities reflected party propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. While speaking of party propaganda, we hear the voices outside shouting in unison—as they have been picketing us in this proceeding today—demonstrating out there. I am confident, based upon my background and experience studying this conspiratorial operation for 13 years, very few of those people out there are actually dedicated members of the Communist conspiracy. They are being used by a few.

Can you tell us how the Communist Party conditions such people as these folks who are now shouting out there? How does the Communist Party, a few dedicated, trained technicians, affect these people to get them to do what they are doing?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. They do it through a very hard-core nucleus of the Communist Party, which operates either in the front organizations or in any group, for the purpose of influencing these people to follow the Communist Party line and to do the bidding of the party.

For instance, in an organization such as the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With Countries of Latin America, Communist Party members would be required to become members of the branches of this organization for the specific purpose of creating this Communist nucleus within the organization, around which they may draw and activate non-party members and non-Communists whom they attract to the organization.

Of course, these party members would be instructed to remember that they are first and foremost Communists, and that they must conduct themselves within this front organization as Communists, and must see that the Communist Party line is carried out.

Mr. ARENS. Do true Communists ever make themselves known as Communists?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. No, they do not identify themselves as Communists. But they do pursue the line of projecting the party line, projecting the party aims, and drawing these people to them. They influence them to accept this propaganda as valid doctrine. It is phrased in very subtle forms of indoctrination.

Let me say this also about the continuing attempt to establish such an organization within the free world.

The branches which this organization would necessarily have to establish in the various parts of the country might appear to be autonomous in their particular area, but they would be subject to the control of the national organization, and they would have to re-

ceive their directives, obey and follow the directives from the national body, make their reports to the national body, and even remit a certain percentage of any money which they collected on behalf of this front organization.

In order to launch this organization properly, it would have to be brought to the attention of the public, and this would be done either through the Communist press, itself, or through those publications which have a very liberal viewpoint, or even in any other paper which is willing to accept their material.

Communist Party members would be mobilized to distribute leaflets which would be in advertisement of such an organization. The organization itself would issue a pamphlet explaining its policies. Now, of course, all press releases, all leaflets, all pamphlets, would describe the organization in the broadest terms of the peoples' desire for friendship and cultural relationships with the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, it is an appealing front-facade.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is correct. It would merely camouflage the true aims of the Communist Party in the type of language that it would use.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be like the article in *Pravda* to which I alluded a little while ago, namely, that there is a thaw in the cultural relations, and that there is going to be an awakening and more friendship and the like?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is true. That is the type of language they would use. They phrase their words in such a manner as to make the issue seem highly laudatory, and, therefore, not only acceptable but very desirable, but it would conceal the true nature of the party's aims.

I would say that in any organization such as this, the one we are discussing, the main line of its activities and policies would center around those of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you at this point: To what extent will this new organization, backed with these hundreds of millions of dollars, making its contact with groups and organizations throughout Latin America, as they say they are going to do or are doing, will they use non-Communists? Will they use people who probably think in their hearts they are anti-Communists?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, they will, to a very great extent. In fact, that is where they find their strength, in the non-Communists, because, after all, the number of Communists, *per se*, is too small to carry the organization, and it would have to be done through people who are non-Communists, some of whom would believe that they are actually doing a service to their country to project the aims of this particular organization.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed, if you please.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I don't think there is very much more I can add to the establishment of this particular organization within the realm of our continent, except to say that this organization would be used, not merely to entice the people of Latin America to support the Soviet in its aims and policies, but also it would be propagandized throughout the world so that the Soviet could use this organization as an example of friendship and cooperation of the Latin American people with the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. What will be the attitude of this organization toward people such as the Committee on Un-American Activities, which through the years has been assembling information on communism, trying to make those facts known, trying to penetrate this conditioning of the minds of so many of the intellectual dupes?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Are you speaking about this committee itself?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, or any committee of like character, fighting communism.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Any committee, any agency, fighting communism, whether within the realm of the government proper or a private organization, would be used as a whipping boy.

Mr. SCHERER. Such as the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, and there are several others in operation in the United States. They would feel the whiplash of Communist propaganda. They would be characterized as tools of imperialism and as enemies of the true feelings of the people as the Communist Party thinks that those feelings should be expressed.

Mr. ARENS. You would see nothing announced in this program respecting the 12 million people who were murdered in Soviet Russia while this force ascended, would you?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. No.

Mr. ARENS. You would see nothing about the 40 million who were slaughtered in Red China?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Absolutely nothing.

Mr. ARENS. Would you see anything about the tens of thousands of American boys who were slaughtered by the Communists in Korea?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Nothing.

Mr. ARENS. Would you see anything about the deadly spy apparatus they have now on a wartime basis over the world?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Nothing.

Mr. ARENS. You would see nothing about their announced intentions to take over the world?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. You would see nothing about the slave labor camps?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. No.

Mr. ARENS. And you would see nothing about the loss of freedom which communism means, would you?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Nothing.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to ask you this question, on the assumption that to be forewarned is to be forearmed: What can or should the freedom-loving people who are not the dupes of the free world attempt to do to meet this \$100 million threat of the conspiratorial force known as communism which is operating now with this island as a nerve center for its direction and control?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. I think those who are anti-Communist should organize themselves just as well as the Communists organize themselves, and use counterpropaganda, emphasizing loyalty to the United States, loyalty to one's own country, regardless of whether it is North America or South America, and emphasizing the true meaning of democracy.

Mr. ARENS. Does it help in this process to have a committee such as this bring the facts to light so that the committee can use them in

legislative purpose as well as to make the facts known to the patriots of the area?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes. I think it is particularly important to make the people of the United States and anywhere else in the world conscious of the menace of communism. There are too many people who are apathetic about it, who don't believe it even exists, but it does exist to a great degree, especially in the cold war we have today.

Mr. ARENS. And they say we are hysterical when we get into the subject matter, and we are putting on a circus when we try to develop the facts, do they not?

Mrs. BLAUVELT. They do.

Mr. ARENS. I have no further questions, but to thank Detective Blauvelt and to commend her for the outstanding work she has been doing, developing facts on this conspiracy, and to compliment and sympathize with her, because we get plenty of barbs in this work ourselves by, principally, the dupes.

Mr. TUCK. The committee expresses its appreciation to the witness for the information she has brought.

Mrs. BLAUVELT. Thank you.

Mr. TUCK. Call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that it is after 12 o'clock, I suggest the Chair might want to consider a recess until 2 o'clock.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will now recess until two p.m.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m. Thursday, November 19, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1959

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. William M. Tuck, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, is Juan Emmanuelli Morales.

Please come forward.

Mr. TUCK. Raise your right hand and be sworn.

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. Yes.

Mr. TUCK. The answer is in the affirmative?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. Yes, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF JUAN EMMANUELLI MORALES, ACCCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the—

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps you do not understand. I haven't asked a question yet. It was just to have you identified on this record.

Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. For the purpose of the record, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully want to inform this committee—my name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez. I am of counsel from this morning, the same counsel representing the witness.

His name is Juan Emmanuelli. He is the person subpenaed, and he is represented by counsel.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to this committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Emmanuelli Morales, when did you last see me?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully—

Mr. ARENS. That is, prior to the time that we arrived in San Juan, Puerto Rico?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Did you not, on last Friday, in Washington, D.C., enter my office and state voluntarily that you had been a member of the Communist Party, and that you had information respecting a number of people who were Communists, and that you proposed to testify before this committee as a friendly witness, and tell this committee about a number of people who, to your certain knowledge, are Communist conspirators on the island now?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Has anyone threatened you since you returned to the island in order to prepare the testimony which you stated you were going to give before this committee in response to the session which we had in my office last Friday?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to this committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. First of all, Mr. Witness, I want to make one thing clear to you: That if you do not understand the import of any question which I ask you, if you do not understand its relevancy, if you do not understand its pertinency, if you have any question in your mind respecting the question, just ask us, and we will give you a full explanation on each question in every regard.

With that explanation, I again ask you are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest now, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair informs the witness that the committee does not accept his reasons for refusing to answer the question as sound and sufficient. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the specific question last asked him.

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in the presence of this witness, I request that an investigator of this Committee on Un-American Activities who interviewed Mr. Emmanuelli Morales in my office last Friday at his solicitation after he came from San Juan to Washington, be sworn.

Mr. George Williams, will you please stand up and be sworn?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully want to be informed whether this means that the witness has been discharged.

Mr. TUCK. No, he has not been.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, will you be sworn?

Mr. TUCK. You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE C. WILLIAMS

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, just at your pace, give us a word about your own personal background.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was born in Pittsylvania County, Va.; graduated from the University of Virginia; a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation for several years; subsequent to that time I have been employed on the staff of this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, on last Friday—I do not have the exact date, but on last Friday—Friday the 13th—I am advised—November 13th were you, Mr. Margetich, and myself conferring in my private office at the suite of offices of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D.C.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. About what hour of the day was it when we were in conference there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. As well as I can recall, it was approximately 6 o'clock.

Mr. ARENS. In passing, I believe Mr. Lewis was also present, was he not, of our research staff?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. ARENS. What happened about 6 o'clock when we were in conference there, Mr. Williams?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Emmanuelli Morales came to the office and stated that he had come down to talk with us concerning the forthcoming hearings here in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. May I interpose this question at that point: Had he been subpenaed by the committee for an appearance here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. To the best of my knowledge, he had. I did not issue the subpena. I think he had.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Then tell us what transpired there in my office.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We spoke with Mr. Emmanuelli Morales concerning the forthcoming hearings here in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Would you excuse me for another interruption, if I may refresh your recollection?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did I not at that time invite you and, I believe, Mr. Margetich, and one other gentleman of the office, to retire to another office in order to interview Mr. Emmanuelli Morales?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is correct. After he made his initial appearance in the office, you asked us to take Mr. Emmanuelli Morales to another office, at which time we would interview him to get some idea of his information and the type of information he would furnish the committee here in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Williams, was Mr. Emmanuelli Morales' appearance completely and wholly voluntary?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did we at any time undertake, what might be loosely characterized as any pressure tactics, on him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. He walked in unaccompanied, did he not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed at your own pace to say what happened after you and one or two other gentlemen from the office retired to another office to visit with Mr. Emmanuelli Morales.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We went in another office. I conducted the interrogation, and notes were recorded at the time as a result of this interrogation. I have these notes in front of me here now.

Mr. ARENS. You made those notes there, or they were made in your presence at the time of the conference with Mr. Emmanuelli Morales?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is correct, in our office in Washington, on the evening of Friday the 13th.

Mr. ARENS. I wasn't present so you tell us what happened.

Mr. WILLIAMS. All right, sir. Mr. Emmanuelli Morales stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party; that, by way of background, he had gone to New York in 1928 for a visit; remained in New York for a while, and then came back to Puerto Rico. In 1931 he moved to New York, more or less permanently.

Mr. ARENS. Did he make any reference to any Communist Party activities by himself in New York City during this period?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not up to that time.

Mr. ARENS. You mean in the chronology of his presentation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Go right ahead.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He returned, as I say, to New York around 1931. In 1938 he was living in New York, employed as a printer. He was printing some, I believe, as well as I recall, and from the notes, some Spanish publications.

At the time they were non-Communist publications. The party felt that—the Communist Party in New York felt that—this was a person who apparently could be of value to the party, so Mr. Emmanuelli Morales was approached, as I recall his statement to me, and in 1938 he joined the Communist Party and was assigned to the Harlem Section of the Communist Party in New York.

Mr. ARENS. Did he tell you that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir; he did.

He remained in New York, and active—just a moment. Let me retract. He remained in the Communist Party up to 1941 when he entered the armed services of the United States. At that time he stated he resigned from the Communist Party. He was discharged from the service, I believe, in 1943 or 1944, at which time he received an honorable discharge and rejoined the Communist Party and again was assigned to the Harlem Section of the Communist Party in New York.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask that date when he rejoined the Communist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have here, 1943 or 1944. He was not quite clear as to the exact date or the exact year. He remained in New York, active in the Communist Party until 1949 or 1950, he wasn't quite sure, when he returned to Puerto Rico. When he returned to Puerto Rico he joined the Communist Party of Puerto Rico here on the island.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about the activities he said he was engaged in as a Communist on the island here.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Perhaps it would clarify the situation if I said here that our conference with Mr. Emmanuelli Morales in Washington was not for a prolonged period of time. He had to come back to Puerto Rico, and we had other pressing matters. Mr. Emmanuelli Morales talked, I suppose, 30 or 45 minutes.

Mr. ARENS. You made arrangements at my request then to meet Mr. Emmanuelli Morales here on the island in advance of these specific hearings in which we are engaged now?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. We set up a tentative appointment for Tuesday afternoon. As soon as I arrived in San Juan at the air-

port—my plane was a little late—I called his office immediately. He was out. I left word where I would be staying, and left word for him to call me.

After I checked in the hotel, I made several attempts to call him again at his office. Each time he was out. I finally left word to ask him to be at my hotel at seven o'clock so we could continue the interview which we had started in Washington.

I was in my room at 7 o'clock and waited until 8:30. Mr. Emmanuelli Morales did not show up. The same thing yesterday. I tried to get in touch with him through his office. I finally set an appointment for last night, through his office, for 8 o'clock. Once again I waited for Mr. Emmanuelli Morales and he did not show up.

Mr. ARENS. That was last night?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Last night. At no time, though, have I been in direct contact with Mr. Emmanuelli Morales. I have been unable to reach him. I left my number at his office on numerous occasions. I talked to people in his office. I have not been able to talk with him, however. With that background, the interview in Washington was not as complete and as thorough as it would ordinarily be due to the lack of time.

Mr. ARENS. Did Mr. Emmanuelli Morales during the course of the brief, preliminary interview which you had with him in the company of Mr. Margetich of our office, tell you the name of any person whom he knew who is now or currently a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. As I said before, he stated he had left the Communist Party in 1953, but due to some knowledge that he had, he had reason to believe that people who were active then are still active. He gave one or two names at the time.

Mr. ARENS. In that interview?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Give us now the names which he gave to you of persons whom he knew in 1953 as Communists here, whom he, on the basis of his understanding of their activities, were currently active in the party.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Arens, he gave me several different names. As I say, not realizing, of course, at the time that that would be the extent of my interview with the gentleman—

Mr. ARENS. So that we may be absolutely on sound ground in your presentation, give us now the names of one or two of the persons concerning whose membership in the Communist Party Mr. Emmanuelli Morales was certain in his preliminary interview about.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, there is only one name that I have an absolute notation about that the person was active in 1953 and to the best of his knowledge was currently active.

Mr. ARENS. Who was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He indicated there were others, but, of course, anticipating a subsequent interview, I did not go into it at any great length at the time.

Mr. ARENS. You were under the impression that he was merely making his acquaintance known to us and his desire to cooperate with the committee in making information available to us on this vital conspiracy?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; that is correct. The one name which he did give—which I have a notation by—is a name, Gertrudis Melendez Perez.

As I said he mentioned several others, but I would be hesitant to mention them as being active in 1953 or currently active.

Mr. ARENS. Have you covered the significant points of the interview?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I think I have.

**TESTIMONY OF JUAN EMMANUELLI MORALES, ACCCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ—Resumed**

Mr. ARENS. You have just heard the testimony of this former FBI agent, Mr. Emmanuelli Morales, under oath. Is there any particular in which he has not told the truth? Is there any error in his testimony?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons that I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Tell this committee, just man to man, what happened after you walked out of that office. You came in and wanted to tell us about this deadly conspiracy which threatens freedom everywhere, of which you were a part. What happened to change your position?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been threatened by a member of the conspiracy since you left our office last Friday?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. If you fear the conspiracy, this committee is prepared to assure you all of the protection necessary. Do you understand that? Because these conspirators, although they are conspirators, they are cowards.

Have you been contacted, Mr. Morales, since you arrived back at the island from Washington, D.C., last Friday. Have you been contacted by any person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. We were under the impression, Mr. Emmanuelli Morales, at least I was, and I believe the investigators, that you had some information that would be of concern to this committee in its work in developing factual material to be used in trying to resist the encroachments of this conspiracy. Can't you tell us what happened?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this

investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Why didn't you call us if you changed your mind?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. You indicated to us that after you got back to the island, you could have a chance to collect your thoughts on some matters, refresh your recollection on some matters, that you were pretty certain that you would be able to be considerably helpful to us, didn't you?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I see there is no use pursuing this further. I want to be certain, however, that this record reflects a directive to him to answer the questions, because he is taking this course—I am sure he understands now—at his peril.

I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be advised that his position is not acceptable to the committee, and that he be ordered and directed to answer the questions.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair informs the witness that his reasons for his refusals to answer the questions, and particularly the immediately preceding questions propounded to him, are not acceptable to the committee, and do not constitute valid grounds in the opinion of the committee for him to refuse to answer.

The witness is ordered and directed to answer the questions propounded by counsel for the committee, particularly the preceding question.

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Would you raise your eyes and look at me before you leave? Don't you have information you can now publicly give this committee and the United States Congress for this Nation under whose flag you have protection, information about this conspiracy, of which you were a part and parcel until just a few years ago?

Mr. EMMANUELLI MORALES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Are there any questions?

Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, sir, will be Gertrudis Melendez Perez.

Mr. TUCK. Come forward.

Will you stand and raise your hand to be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF GERTRUDIS MELENDEZ PEREZ, ACCCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, GERARDO ORTIZ DEL
RIVERO, SANTOS P. AMADEO, PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI,
AND MAX GOLDMAN (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. My name is Gertrudis Melendez Perez, Caserio Las Casa, Building 34.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. The witness left her purse and she wants to go back and get it.

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. My occupation is a domestic employee.

Mr. TUCK. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I respectfully refuse to answer this question, believing that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons which I set forth in my written statement submitted to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes, sir. I want to repeat now what I said a while ago. I don't know if I went on the record for this witness, but we are representing her; yes.

My name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, here with Professor Amadeo, Praxeles Leandri, Mr. Max Goldman at this time, and Mr. Del Rivero.

Mr. ARENS. Witness, do you know the man who just preceded you to the witness chair, Juan Emmanuel Morales—do you know him?

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I refuse to answer this question because I believe that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in the written statement which I gave to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. You are reading from a prepared statement, and have been, as have most of the witnesses today, are you not?

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I refuse to answer this question because I believe that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in the written statement which I gave to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. The man who preceded you to the witness stand just last Friday was in the office—he came there voluntarily—the office of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D.C., and stated that he had a story to tell—that he wanted to tell this committee about the Communist machinations and operations on this island.

He began speaking, talking to the investigators of this committee, and in that preliminary investigation he told about his own enmeshment in this conspiracy. He got to the point in his conversation where they were asking him about Communists he knew, people who had been in this conspiracy, and in his conversation he got to the point where he named you as a person known by him to be a member of the conspiracy, a member of the Communist Party.

Was he lying to us or was he telling the truth?

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I refuse to answer this question because I believe that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation

for the reasons set forth in the written statement I gave to the committee.

MR. ARENS. Witness, I want to make a statement preliminary to asking you a question.

This committee is confident it has jurisdiction to come here. It had no doubt in its mind at all. But notwithstanding the fact that the committee itself was confident, it had the question researched, developed, and studied by the ablest counsel we could possibly enlist. Without dissent, the ablest counsel whom we could enlist to advise the committee advised us there is no question about the jurisdiction of this committee to come to Puerto Rico; no question; that if people can be indicted and tried under the Smith Act here, this committee, which has a mandate of the Congress to watch the administration of our laws, our security laws, has jurisdiction to come here.

Also, it is the position of this committee that if you do not understand any question we ask—its pertinency to the subject under inquiry, namely, communism, Communist propaganda, and its relevancy and the like—we want you to ask us. Say "I don't quite understand. Explain why I am here. Explain what this question has to do with me, why it is relevant and the like," and then we will be glad to explain anything you want explained.

In the meantime, we are engaged in the deadly serious work of trying to develop information on this Communist conspiracy. I think it is evident from this record how difficult it is to get this material.

So with that background and that explanation, I am going to ask you a question now. That question is: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

MR. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to the committee, before the interpreter proceeds to translate the question, I have listened first to the statement and second to the question which has been posed by Mr. Arens, and before it is translated to the witness that, by the way, is a woman who hasn't had the privilege of schooling, and she is just an ignorant housewife, I would like—

MR. SCHERER. I don't think you want that on the record, that this woman is an ignorant woman.

MR. ARENS. If she is ignorant, she has been writing an awful lot of articles for an ignorant woman. We are going to ask her about those in a few minutes, counsel.

MR. DIAZ GONZALEZ. If they are going to tell her that this committee has the best counsel available—

MR. ARENS. You know your sole and exclusive privilege is to advise your witness.

MR. DIAZ GONZALEZ. But the best counsel here feel otherwise.

MR. TUCK. You can tell her that. Your duty is to advise her. We have our own counsel. Your privilege is to advise your client. We have our own counsel.

Proceed.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

(The pending question was then put to the witness through the interpreter, Mr. Donald Barnes.)

MISS MELENDEZ PEREZ. I refuse to answer this question and any other questions which might be posed. I consider that the committee does not have jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in the written statement which I have given to the committee.

Mr. TUCK. The committee at this point informs the witness that the committee is not satisfied with and does not accept the reasons assigned by her for a refusal to answer this question. The committee likewise informs the witness that she may involve herself in criminal troubles with the Department of Justice of the United States by reason of her refusal to answer these questions.

This information is given to her not with any idea of coercing or threatening her, or terrifying her in any way, but simply to let her know that the Department of Justice very likely may review her testimony with a view to determining whether or not she is in contempt of this committee.

The committee chairman now orders and directs the witness to respond and to reply to the question asked by counsel, the question most lately propounded to her.

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I refuse to answer this question because I consider that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons that I have given in my written statement given to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Witness, although your counsel is not as enthusiastic as somebody might be about your education or your educational attainments, we have here three articles written by yourself in *Pueblo*, one entitled "Wide Feminine Movement," which reports on the role of women in the fight for peace, independence, and socialism.

Another article is "Women's Meeting in Favor of Unity,"—another article of like vein appearing in *Pueblo*.

Did you author the articles which I have alluded to which bear your name, or were they authored by someone else and your name just happened to get affixed to them?

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I refuse to answer this question and any others that might be posed to me because I consider that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in the written statement which I gave to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee, Witness, that you and others were participants in an exhibition film on alleged germ warfare in Korea, films which depict, falsely, of course, that the American Government and our boys who were dying and fighting in Korea were engaged in germ warfare. Those of us who have been engaged in this work know that is strictly Communist propaganda of the most insidious form.

While you are under oath now, will you tell this committee what you know about the exhibition in San Juan of motion picture films allegedly depicting our boys, who were laying their lives down for freedom, using germ warfare?

Miss MELENDEZ PEREZ. I refuse to answer this question because I insist that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth in the written statement which I gave to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. I think I might say to this witness, as well as to her counsel, that it is my purpose as chairman of this subcommittee to recommend to the full committee at its next regular meeting in Washington in January that this witness, as well as the preceding witnesses

who have been interrogated and who have declined to answer pertinent questions, be cited for contempt of this committee.

We will thus soon get a determination if there is any question in the minds of anyone as to the validity of the grounds upon which they are relying. This committee does not intend to have its work suppressed or thwarted in any such fashion as that if it can be avoided.

Call the next witness.

(The statement of the chairman was put to the witness by the interpreter, Mr. Donald Barnes.)

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Consuelo Burgos De Pagan.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand, please?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CONSUELO BURGOS DE PAGAN (CONSUELO BURGOS DE SAEZ PAGAN), ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, AND PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. DE PAGAN. My name is Consuelo Burgos De Saez Pagan. I live in 14 Arecibo Street, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico. I am a lawyer.

Mr. ARENS. Are you admitted to practice law here in Puerto Rico?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you please identify yourself on this record?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. My name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, appearing with Mr. Goldman and Mr. Leandri, now on behalf of the witness.

Mr. ARENS. Whom do you represent?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Consuelo Burgos Pagan.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently educational director of the Puerto Rican Communist Party?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

MR. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question, but before doing so I wish to advise the witness that if she does not understand the pertinency or any questions, we are happy to explain them. We are engaged in serious business.

It is the information of this committee that you are now a hardcore Communist, active in this conspiracy. We are trying to elicit from you information which this committee may use in its legislative purpose in trying to protect this great, free people.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not she is still educational director of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

MR. TUCK. The committee informs the witness that her reasons assigned for not answering the question propounded by counsel are not satisfactory and not acceptable to this committee. Therefore, the witness is ordered to answer the last immediately preceding question propounded by counsel.

MRS. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

MR. ARENS. Now I display to you a photostatic reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of some years ago. In fact, it is about 11 years ago. I expect to pursue with you questions respecting your career up to the present time in the Communist Party.

This issue of the Communist Daily Worker of March 16, 1948, has an article and a photograph. The photograph in this reproduction is rather blurred, but underneath the photograph appears the following:

Consuelo Saez, educational director of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, will speak with Foster at Manhattan Center Thursday night.

Then we observe likewise in this publication, in which it tells about William Foster's speech about Puerto Rico, that:

Also speaking at the meeting will be Consuelo Saez, dynamic young educational director of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, who accompanied Foster on his visit to Puerto Rico.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not you still maintain the status indicated by that Communist publication of some several years ago.

MRS. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

(Document marked "De Pagan Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

MR. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

MR. ARENS. Now, ma'am, I display to you a thermofax reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of May 20, 1954, issued in New York City, in which they are calling here for a liberation front policy, and speak of the Fourth Congress of the Puerto Rican Communist

Party in session in San Juan; and tell of a number of people who were in attendance and participated there, including you.

Please look at this document which I display to you and tell this committee whether or not you are truthfully and accurately identified there.

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee informs the witness that the reasons assigned by the witness are not acceptable, are not satisfactory, to the committee, and the Chair therefore orders and directs the witness to answer the preceding question.

Does the witness still refuse to answer?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

(Document marked "De Pagan Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I display to you an article written by yourself, Consuelo Saez, educational director of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, entitled "Puerto Rican Women Still Seek Emancipation."

Please glance at that article [The Worker of April 11, 1948] and tell this committee whether or not that truly and accurately represents your authorship.

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

(Document marked "De Pagan Exhibit No. 3"; and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. For the same reasons, I will not answer this or any question, because I think you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be advised that the committee does not accept her reasons for declining, and that she be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee informs the witness that the reasons assigned in declining to answer the question are not acceptable and she is therefore directed and ordered to answer the question propounded by counsel.

Does the witness still decline to answer?

Mrs. DE PAGAN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons which I conveyed to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

The witness may stand aside.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Pablo Rodriguez Garcia.

Mr. TUCK. Stand and raise your right hand.

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF PABLO M. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ, ACCCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, SANTOS P. AMADEO,
PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI, MAX GOLDMAN, AND GERARDO
ORTIZ DEL RIVERO**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. My name, sir, is Pablo M. Garcia Rodriguez. I live at E-16, University Gardens, Rio Piedras, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and I am an attorney.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer this question or any other question that you may raise during this hearing on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the reasons that I have stated in the written statement that has been filed with you.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes, sir. Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, Mr. Del Rivero, Max Goldman, Praxeles Leandri, and Santos Amadeo.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Garcia, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I respectfully, sir, decline to answer that question on the grounds that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation for the several reasons that I have stated in the statement filed with you.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be advised that his reason for refusing to answer the question is not accepted by the committee and that he be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is informed that the reasons which he has assigned for declining to answer the question propounded by counsel are not acceptable to the committee, and in the opinion of the committee are not valid. The chairman, therefore, orders and directs him to answer the question last propounded by counsel.

Does the witness still decline to answer?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I see myself compelled again, sir, to decline to answer, very respectfully, your question, because of the same reasons that I have already stated.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a writer for the Communist Daily Worker in New York City?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I respectfully decline to answer, sir, for the same reasons that I have stated.

Mr. ARENS. We display to you, sir, a photostatic reproduction of an article in the Communist Daily Worker [February 12, 1951] by Pablo M. Garcia. We ask you if you will kindly look at that article and tell this committee whether or not you have authored the article.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I refuse, sir, to answer that question on the same grounds that I have already stated.

(Document marked "Garcia Rodriguez Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We display to you still another article in the Communist Worker, Sunday, January 8, 1956, by Pablo M. Garcia.

Kindly look at this document which is now being displayed to you and tell this committee whether or not you are truthfully and accurately described there as the author of the article.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. Sir, I again see myself compelled to repeat that I respectfully decline to answer this or any other question that you may pose during the proceedings, during these hearings, because I honestly understand that you have no jurisdiction to carry out these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons stated in the statement that I have already filed with you.

(Document marked "Garcia Rodriguez Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker [May 20, 1954] respecting a Puerto Rican Communist Party adoption of certain policies [Fourth Congress]. In the course of the article, the following appears: "A nine-member Central Committee was elected;" and among those who were elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party session, according to this Communist publication, was Pablo Garcia Rodriguez, as treasurer.

Please look at this article and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not that truly and accurately described your participation and status in that session.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. Sir, I decline to answer this question for the same reasons that I have already stated to this committee.

(Document marked "Garcia Rodriguez Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever traveled abroad on a United States passport?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I again, sir, respectfully decline to answer this or any other question that you gentlemen may pose to me during the course of this hearing, because I am under the firm belief that you have no jurisdiction to carry out this investigation in Puerto Rico.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair advises you that the reasons assigned by you for declining to answer that question are not satisfactory and not acceptable to the committee, and the Chair orders and directs you to answer the question.

Do you still decline to do so?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I respectfully, sir, see myself compelled to differ from the opinion of Your Honor, and I must, therefore, refuse, respectfully, to answer this or any other question for the same reasons that I have already stated.

Mr. ARENS. This Committee on Un-American Activities interrogated earlier a man by the name of Corales. We displayed to him an

application, and the issuance of a certificate for Post Office Box 2583. We interrogated him respecting a number of messages from international Communist agents from various agents of the world which were processed through that Post Office Box 2583.

We observe on here one of the reference signatures on the application as Pablo M. Garcia, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Please look at that application and tell this committee whether or not that is your signature—a fair and honest reproduction of your signature on that document.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. For the same reasons, sir, I respectfully decline to answer your questions, for the very same reasons that I have already stated in the course of the hearings.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a participant with Corales in the processing of these directives and the channeling of these directives, and the channeling of any of this Communist propaganda which we covered with him in his testimony?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I decline to answer, sir, on the very same reasons that I have already stated.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee that you are or have in the past been not only connected, but actually a full-fledged member of the Communist Party of France. Will you kindly confirm or deny that information?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I again, sir, see myself compelled to respectfully decline to answer your question on the grounds that this committee has no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico to carry out this investigation.

Mr. TUCK. The committee informs the witness that the reasons assigned by him for declining to answer the question are not acceptable and not satisfactory to the committee, nor in the opinion of the committee is he on legal grounds upon which to rely.

The committee, therefore, directs the witness and orders him to answer the last preceding question, which is a pertinent question.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. With all due respect to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the rest of the members of this committee, and for the reasons that I have already stated, I see myself compelled, by my honest belief that this committee has no jurisdiction to carry out these proceedings in Puerto Rico, I therefore cannot answer it and will not answer your question.

Mr. SCHERER. Assuming that you were right that this committee had no jurisdiction, wouldn't you want to tell a committee of the Congress of the United States what you know about the operations of the Communist Party? Why do you hide behind this question of jurisdiction?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. For the same reasons, sir, for the same reasons that I have already stated, and because I believe that this committee has no jurisdiction whatsoever to carry out this investigation, I say I cannot honestly answer any of the questions that you may pose to me.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand that you believe that. My question is even though you do believe that this committee has no jurisdiction—of course, we think you are wrong, but assuming that you are right—why would a man who has been educated at Harvard not give to the Congress of the United States, and your Government, information

concerning the operation of a foreign power operating within the United States and in Puerto Rico?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. Mr. Chairman, am I to understand that this question that he raises is out of the jurisdiction, out of the question of the proceedings of the committee?

Mr. SCHERER. No. It is part of the proceedings.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I want to state, Your Honor and members of this committee, that the greatest contribution that I can make to the Congress of the United States is to bring to your mind the situation of injustice and inequality that exists in Puerto Rico, and that you are a committee coming to Puerto Rico exercising a legislative power appointed by a Congress in which the people of Puerto Rico are not represented, and I submit to you gentlemen that this is a situation which is contrary to the principles of the Constitution of the United States of government by representation.

Your fellow citizen from Virginia, sir, Mr. Patrick Henry, his words are as true today as they were before, and I am certain that that is the greatest contribution that I can make to the Congress of the United States, and I would feel proud if I could make that contribution to the Congress.

Mr. TUCK. Another outburst of that kind and I am going to ask the marshal to remove those people from the room.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the reason for your refusal to answer that you have just given?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I refuse to answer any question, sir, on the ground that I have already stated. I respectfully refuse.

Mr. ARENS. I have here a photostatic reproduction of a form of the United States Post Office indicating that Pablo M. Garcia has now been issued a key under date of 1954, a key to Post Office Box 2583.

Do you presently have a key to Post Office Box 2583?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. For the same reasons that I have already stated, gentlemen, I refuse to answer this or any other question on the grounds that this committee has no jurisdiction to come to Puerto Rico and make this investigation. I respectfully submit to you the same reasoning as I did before.

(Document marked "Garcia Rodriguez Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information which you can supply this committee with now respecting an atheistic conspiracy—which threatens freedom everywhere—known as the Communist Party—threatens liberty that you were so generous in alluding to in Patrick Henry's statement? Do you have information now respecting the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is informed that the committee does not accept the reasons assigned by him for his declination in answering that question. The witness is, therefore, directed to answer the question propounded by counsel.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I respectfully, sir, gentlemen, decline to answer the question on the grounds that I have already stated, that

being that you gentlemen as a subcommittee have no jurisdiction to carry out this investigation in Puerto Rico for the reasons that I have already stated in my written statement.

MR. SCHERER. Let me ask you another question. Would you give to the Federal Bureau of Investigation the information that you have about the operations of the Communist Party? Would you tell them about the key? Would you tell them whether you had signed this application for this fellow? Would you tell them about that?

MR. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I respectfully, gentlemen, decline to answer on the same grounds that I have already stated.

MR. SCHERER. You wouldn't tell the Federal Bureau of Investigation? You feel that they occupy a similar status as does this committee insofar as jurisdiction is concerned?

MR. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I decline to answer your question, sir, on the same grounds.

MR. SCHERER. Would you give any other agency of the Federal Government any information that you might have?

MR. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I respectfully, sir, decline to answer your question for the same reasons.

MR. ARENS. When you took an oath to become a lawyer and be admitted to practice law, did you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic?

MR. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I decline to answer your question, sir, on the same grounds.

MR. ARENS. Where you at the very time you took that oath a member of the atheistic conspiratorial force known as the Communist Party?

MR. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. I decline to answer, sir, your question on the same grounds.

MR. ARENS. You have described here a number of issues which you regard as social injustices. Is the Communist Party's conspiratorial program the answer to these injustices which you allege exist in Puerto Rico?

MR. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer your question on the same grounds that I have already stated for all of the preceding questions.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

MR. TUCK. The witness may stand aside.

Call the next witness.

MR. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Cesar Andreu Iglesias.

MR. TUCK. Will the witness stand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. ANDREU IGLESIAS. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF CESAR ANDREU IGLESIAS, ACCCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, GERARDO ORTIZ DEL
RIVERO, PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI, SANTOS P. AMADEO,
AND MAX GOLDMAN (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. Mr. Chairman, my name is Cesar Andreu Iglesias, and by the way, I do understand English. I live on Lutz Street 358, in Santurce, Puerto Rico, and I am a writer by profession.

Mr. ARENS. Do you speak English as well as understand it?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. I understand English, but I also believe that the natural language in Puerto Rico is Spanish, and therefore believe that here and anywhere else I should speak only Spanish.

Mr. ARENS. Were these articles of yours in the Communist Daily Worker in Spanish or were they in English? I have an article here from the Sunday Worker magazine [August 22, 1948] "Puerto Rico Fights Back"; another one authored by yourself in the Communist Daily Worker of February [12], 1951.

Did you write in the Communist Daily Worker in Spanish or in English?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. For reasons set forth in a document which has been submitted to the committee, with all due respect to the Congress of the United States and to this committee, I respectfully refuse to answer this and any other questions which may be posed to me.

(Documents marked "Andreu Iglesias Exhibit Nos. 1 and 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. My reply is the same as before.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. The same reply as before.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. For the record, Mr. Chairman, my name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, my address is 1556 Ponce de Leon Avenue.

I am here with Mr. Max Goldman, Mr. Leandri, Mr. Del Rivero, and Dr. Santos Amadeo, assisting the witness.

Mr. ARENS. You represent the witness, Andreu Iglesias, who is presently now testifying?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, I propose to ask you in a few moments whether or not you are now a member of the Communist Party. If you will answer that question, I propose to pursue that principal question by undertaking to elicit from you information about your Communist Party activities, current activities, particularly propaganda activities, so that this committee can, with that information, which me might elicit from you, be able to have a fund of knowledge

with which we can appraise proposals pending in the United States Congress to protect this great Nation, including Puerto Rico, from this Godless conspiracy.

If there is anything you do not understand in any question, either its pertinency or relevancy, if you have any doubts in your mind as to why we are asking the question—how it might relate to you, why it might or might not be germane to the subject matter under inquiry, the scope of the subject matter under inquiry, you just stop me and I will be glad to explain to you. I do not want to give all of these detailed explanations though, and have it just be fruitless.

With that background, sir, I ask you: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. For the reasons set forth in the document bearing my signature, which was handed to the committee, with all due respect for the Congress of the United States, I refuse to answer this or any other questions which may be posed to me.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is informed, or you may inform the witness, that the reasons assigned by him for declining to answer the question are not acceptable to the committee, and he is therefore directed and ordered to answer the question, the preceding question, propounded by counsel.

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. I am appreciative of the words spoken by the chairman of this committee, but I would like to repeat that I will refuse to answer, with all due respect to the Congress of the United States, this or any other question that is posed to me.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee that you have, over the course of the last several years, been in constant contact with the high echelon of the Communist Party in New York City; that you have been a delegate to a number of the closed Communist functions in that city.

Would you please, sir, now provide the Committee on Un-American Activities with such information as you possess respecting those sessions?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. For the reasons already set forth in writing and given to the committee, and with all due respect to this committee and to the Congress of the United States, I refuse to answer this and any other questions that are asked of me.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that because he contends that this committee does not have jurisdiction?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. My reasons for refusing to answer questions have been set forth in writing effectively and clearly and they are the same as for my refusing to answer this or any other question.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand your reasons as set forth in writing are that this committee does not have jurisdiction to conduct this hearing in Puerto Rico.

Would you be willing to tell the Internal Security Division of the Police Department of San Juan, of your activities in the Communist Party?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. I believe that I do not have to repeat myself any further in continuing to deny or refuse to answer any questions that are asked of me by this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, sir, any information respecting any threats, any pressure of any kind, brought by any person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party against Juan Emmanuelli

Morales in order to keep him from testifying fully and freely before this committee?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. My reply is the same for the reasons already given in writing to this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been in contact in the course of the last several days here on the island with a man representing the Communist front, known as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—a man by the name of Clark Foreman?

Mr. ANDREU IGLESIAS. My reply is the same.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if we could have about a 5-minute recess so that we may do some checking on some matters.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will stand in recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at this point: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel, call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, sir, will be Ramon Diaz Cruz.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF RAMON DIAZ CRUZ, ACCCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, MAX GOLDMAN, SANTOS P. AMADEO,
PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI, AND GERARDO ORTIZ DEL
RIVERO (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. My name is Ramon Diaz Cruz. I live in AM—28, Julio Street, Villa Rica, Bayamon, Puerto Rico. My principal occupation is to struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, for the welfare of the working class and for world peace.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that this committee does not have jurisdiction to carry out this investigation for the reasons set forth to the committee in writing in my statement handed to it.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. At this point, I want to respectfully inform the committee that my name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez. My address is 1556 Ponce de Leon Avenue; that I, together with Mr. Max Goldman, Mr. Leandri, Dr. Santos Amadeo, and Mr. Del Rivero, represent the witness.

Mr. ARENS. I understood you to say a moment ago that one of your principal vocations was the struggle for world peace. Please tell us what you do in this struggle for world peace.

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that this committee does not have jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. In this expenditure of your energies for world peace, are you the director of "La Paz?"

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I respectfully refuse to answer this question because I maintain that this committee does not have the jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons expressed to the committee in the written statement which I gave to the committee.

* * * * *

Mr. ARENS. I am going to ask the translator—the interpreter to read in English from "Pueblo" of December 1958, an article entitled "La Paz." Then I am going to lay the original before you in a few moments so you may check to be certain nothing is erroneously said in the translation.

Mr. Translator, will you now kindly read the article running some few paragraphs entitled La Paz in the December 1958 issue of Pueblo?

Mr. BARNES. This is from Pueblo, December 1958, page 3, an article entitled "Peace."

The first edition of La Paz is already in circulation. It is a special edition dedicated to the memory of Frederic Joliot-Curie and to the "Months of Common Action," in common proposed and defended by the World Peace Council. It contains an appeal against the guided missile station in Ceiba, as well as reflective expressions of opposition to this and other military bases by prominent sectors and persons, many of them concerned over the dark future which threatens to destroy us if a nuclear war conflict should take place.

After denouncing to the world that "The conversion of our Island into a great military base, establishing by unilateral imposition and maintaining against the peaceful nature of our people, extensive and numerous naval, air and military units," in its vibrant editorial, it is said that "It is an abuse of power of a criminal nature to convert the Puerto Rican people into a forced target and a propitiatory victim of any enemy of the United States."

We cordially congratulate the able editor, the young and daring newspaperman, Ramon Diaz Cruz, and we wish for La Paz future new triumphs.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, Mr. Lewis, of the staff, will display to you the article which the interpreter just read, so you may see in Spanish the article which you are identified as the editor or director of La Paz. Please look at the article and tell us whether or not it is a true and correct identification.

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I respectfully refuse to answer this question because I maintain that the committee lacks and does not have any jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth to the committee in my written statements, and I would like to add that from now on when I am asked any question I will merely say "no jurisdiction," in order to avoid reading this long statement and thus save my voice.

(Document marked "Diaz Cruz Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, it is the understanding of this committee that you are a member of this conspiratorial force that is at war with freedom everywhere, a conspiratorial force that moved its tanks into

Hungary and mowed down men, women and children, a conspiratorial force that has slave camps all over, that has agents on every continent on the globe, a conspiratorial force that by the pronouncements of its own leaders has warred to the hilt against the free world everywhere.

I propose to ask you in a few moments whether or not you are now a member of the Communist Party. Before doing so, I want to explain to you that if you have any question in your mind respecting the pertinency or relevancy of the questions which I ask you, or the scope of inquiry of this committee, or how these questions relate to you, and how your situation would relate to the legislative purpose of this committee, I will be glad to explain in detail every one of them. I don't want to do so unnecessarily, however.

With that explanation, I am going to ask you now: Are you, sir, a member of the Communist Party?

Would you wait until he interprets my question to you, please?

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I refuse to answer this question because I maintain that this committee does not have the jurisdiction to carry out this investigation for the reasons already set forth to the committee in a written statement.

Mr. TUCK. The committee informs the witness that the reasons which he assigned are not sufficient, are not satisfactory to this committee, and the committee refuses to accept the reasons which he has assigned.

The committee also wishes to inform the witness that, by his refusals to answer these questions, he may be found guilty of criminal contempt of one of the committees of the Congress of the United States.

This statement is being made to him through no effort to intimidate or to excite his apprehensions or fears unduly, but simply to give him this information in order that he might have it—so that he will be properly warned.

The Chair now orders and directs the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I refuse to answer that question and all others that you may ask of me because I maintain that this committee does not have and lacks jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth to the committee in my written statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, it has been the experience of this committee in our study of this conspiratorial force as it has moved from area to area over the world, that the first thing the Communists do when they move in and take over a country is to kill off those who helped them take it over, because they figure if they would betray their own country they wouldn't want to trust them either.

It is our information that you, in July of 1958, went and represented yourself as the representative of Puerto Rico in Stockholm, Sweden, at a Communist-sponsored fraud known as a World Peace Congress.

That information comes to us, among other places, from the Communist publication—one of the Communist publications on this island, *Pueblo*, of October 1958, in which it says "We have been informed that following the Congress For Disarmament and International Cooperation, which was held at Stockholm, Sweden, last July 16 to 22,

and at which Puerto Rico was represented by Ramon Diaz Cruz, the World Peace Congress," and so forth.

Please tell this committee, representing the nation that gives you protection against the onslaught of this awful force, known as international communism, about your participation in that Communist fraud in Stockholm, Sweden, in July of 1958.

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I respectfully refuse to answer this question and all other questions which the committee may ask of me because I maintain, as I have maintained and I shall maintain, that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons set forth to the committee in my written statement.

(Document marked "Diaz Cruz Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee informs the witness that the subcommittee does not accept the reasons which he has assigned in declining to answer this question. The chairman of the subcommittee orders and directs the witness to answer the question.

Does the witness still decline to answer the question?

Mr. DIAZ CRUZ. I refuse to answer this question, as I have the ones before, and I will refuse to answer the following questions, because I maintain and have maintained and will maintain that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons expressed to the committee in the written statement signed by myself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. The witness may stand aside.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be John Peter Hawes.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand?

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the House of Representatives will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HAWES. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF JOHN (PETER) HAWES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, GERARDO ORTIZ DEL RIVERO,
SANTOS P. AMADEO, PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI, AND MAX
GOLDMAN**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. HAWES. My name is John Hawes. I live in Bayamon, in the municipality of Ciedra, in Puerto Rico, and I build musical instruments.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Hawes, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. HAWES. I decline to answer that question on the ground that you have no jurisdiction to conduct this investigation and for the reasons that I conveyed in the written and signed statement which I submitted to the committee.

MR. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, to save time, I want to repeat that my name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, and with Max Goldman, Mr. Del Rivero, Dr. Santos Amadeo and Mr. Leandri, I am assisting the witness.

MR. ARENS. Did you say you build musical instruments?

MR. HAWES. As I said, sir, I submitted a written statement to the committee—

MR. ARENS. I know that. Did you a minute ago say that you build musical instruments or you play musical instruments?

MR. DIAZ GONZALEZ. He already stated that he makes musical instruments.

MR. ARENS. Do you also have a little avocation or vocation as a lecturer and writer on Latin American affairs?

MR. HAWES. I have already stated, sir, in this written statement handed in to this committee, that I do not believe that the committee has jurisdiction to hold hearings here in Puerto Rico and, therefore, I must decline to answer this and all other questions.

MR. ARENS. According to the information of this committee, and we have here a bulletin of the Communist Samuel Adams School for Social Studies; you are or were a lecturer, "Peter Hawes, Lecturer and Writer on Latin-American Affairs."

This Committee on Un-American Activities of your Government is here to develop factual information respecting the Communist penetration of Latin America. In view of the fact that you are a lecturer and writer on Latin-American affairs, we would like to have you tell us now if you have any information about Communist penetration of Latin America.

MR. HAWES. Once again, sir, on the same grounds that I used before, I must respectfully decline to answer this question.

(Document marked "Hawes Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

MR. ARENS. You seem to have a Boston—

MR. TUCK. Just one minute, counsel.

The committee now informs you that the reasons which you have assigned for declining to answer the question are not acceptable to the committee and do not constitute valid grounds. The chairman now directs and orders you to answer the last preceding question propounded to you by counsel.

MR. HAWES. With all due respect to the committee, Mr. Chairman, I stand on the written statement that I submitted to the committee and I must decline to answer the question.

MR. ARENS. You seem to have a Boston accent. Did you live in Boston prior to coming to Puerto Rico?

MR. HAWES. I am sorry, sir; I respectfully decline to answer that question on the same grounds that I stated before.

MR. ARENS. That is the information of this committee. We would like to have you help us with it—that you were a member of the Communist conspiratorial force—the Communist Party in Boston, until you moved here and transferred your membership down here. Can you help us on that, please?

MR. HAWES. As I stated before, sir, I do not believe that this committee has jurisdiction to hold these hearings here in Puerto Rico, and I cannot, therefore, answer.

Mr. TUCK. The committee now informs the witness that the committee does not accept the reasons which he has assigned in declining to answer the question. He is, therefore, ordered and directed to answer the question.

Does the witness still decline to answer?

Mr. HAWES. With all due respect to the committee and to the chairman, I still decline.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, there was a fine, patriotic, dedicated man, relatively young, by the name of Herbert Philbrick. For several years, at great sacrifice to himself, he served in the Communist Party; reported regularly to his Government what this conspiratorial force was doing, and he made clear to his Government the devastating nature of this force; how the force tries to dupe people that it is humanitarian, that it is good, that it is for the working class and the like; but in truth and in fact how it is only an arm of a foreign power—it takes people and brainwashes them and conditions them as agents of its own objectives.

He has reported to this committee that while he was serving his Government, sacrificially and patriotically acquiring information on this force, he knew you, sir, as part and parcel of this force in Boston, Mass., as a member of the so-called white collar professional group of the Communist Party.

Was Mr. Philbrick telling us the truth or was he in error when he told us about your participation in Boston in the Communist Party?

Mr. HAWES. As I previously stated, sir, I do not believe that this committee has jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico, and I therefore decline with all due respect to answer this or any other question.

Mr. TUCK. The committee informs the witness that the reasons which he has assigned are not acceptable. He is, therefore, ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. HAWES. With all respect to the committee, sir, and to its chairman, I decline to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, the Committee on Un-American Activities is here trying to develop factual information respecting the current operations of the Communist Party so that it may take that information and return to Washington and use that information to develop laws and amendments to laws to help protect this country against the operations of this conspiratorial force known as the Communist Party.

I expect in a few moments to ask you if you are now a member of the Communist Party. If you will give us a truthful full answer with respect to that, I then expect to pursue the line of questioning to try to elicit from you information that can be helpful to this committee representing the Government of the United States in this legislative purpose.

If there is anything which I have asked you or which I do ask you which you do not understand—understand the relevancy or pertinency of any question, just ask me and I will be glad to explain it to you.

With that as an explanation, I ask you now, sir, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HAWES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that I do not believe that this committee has jurisdiction to hold this hearing in Puerto Rico.

Mr. TUCK. The committee informs you that the reasons which you have given are not acceptable. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Do you still decline?

Mr. HAWES. With all respect to the committee, sir, and to you, sir, as chairman of the committee, I still decline.

Mr. ARENS. Are you also employed or have you in the recent past been employed as a journalist with the Island Times?

Mr. HAWES. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the same grounds that I stated before.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. The witness may stand aside.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Frank Ruiz, please come forward.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will go into executive session, but before doing so, we would like to announce that those witnesses who have testified either today or yesterday may see the clerk of the committee and sign their vouchers for their pay for attending the meetings of the committee.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I was going to beg you for a 5-minute recess. I haven't talked to Mr. Ruiz before. I asked him whether he had an attorney and he said no, that he wanted us to assist him. But I have just been informed about it. I would like to talk to him for 5 minutes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest we take a 5-minute recess to enable the counsel to speak to the witness.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will recess for 5 minutes, and when it reconvenes, it will reconvene in executive session. No other persons except those authorized will be permitted to enter the room.

We will reserve judgment as to whether or not we will be in executive session. I will make an announcement on that after the recess.

(A short recess was taken, at which time the following members of the subcommittee were present: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

Mr. TUCK. The committee will come to order.

Please stand and be sworn.

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUIZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK RUIZ (FRANK RUIZ MARTINEZ) ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, GERARDO ORTIZ DEL RIVERO, SANTOS P. AMADEO, PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI, AND MAX GOLDMAN (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. RUIZ. I was born. My christian name was Eusebio Ruiz Martinez. I am known now as Frank Ruiz Martinez. I was born in the city of Ponce. I live at 67 Maestro Cordero Street, in Hato Rey,

Puerto Rico. I am the secretary-treasurer of the Packinghouse Workers Union, AFL-CIO.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. RUIZ. I respectfully refuse to answer that question because I maintain that this committee lacks jurisdiction to carry out this investigation in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully want to request the record to show my name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, my address is 1556 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Mr. Ortiz Del Rivero, Mr. Max Goldman Mr. Praxeles Leandri and Dr. Santos Amadeo assist me in the assistance to this witness.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offense?

Mr. RUIZ. I respectfully refuse to answer this question and any others that may be asked of me because I understand and I maintain that this committee of the U.S. Congress lacks jurisdiction to investigate anybody in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee that you pled guilty to seditious conspiracy and received a 5-year suspended sentence and were placed on probation.

Please confirm or deny the validity of that information.

Mr. RUIZ. I respectfully refuse to answer this question or any other because I understand that this committee does not have jurisdiction to investigate anyone in Puerto Rico.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, this committee is here for the purpose of developing factual information which will assist it, and, via it, the U.S. Congress, in its legislative duties to protect this Nation against the Godless conspiratorial force known as the Communist Party.

The committee is confident, not only on the basis of its own legal research, but on the basis of the advice of the most competent lawyers we can enlist, that the committee does have jurisdiction here without question.

The committee needs the information which the committee thinks you have. I propose in a moment to ask whether or not you are now a member of the Communist Party. If you will answer that question, truthfully and fully, I expect then to pursue with you other lines of inquiry as to your activities in the Communist Party, as to the movements of the Communist Party in Puerto Rico, as to the connection between the Communist Party of Puerto Rico and the Communist Party working among Puerto Rican nationality groups in the continental United States.

If there is anything you do not understand about my questions, including their pertinency or relevancy, scope of inquiry, anything at all, just stop me and ask, and I will be glad to explain them to you.

With that explanation, I now ask you, sir, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUIZ. I maintain, as I did before, that I will refuse to answer any questions posed to me by this committee because, as I said previously, I believe that this committee has no jurisdiction to investigate anyone here in Puerto Rico.

Mr. TUCK. The reasons assigned by the witness for declining to answer the question propounded by counsel are not accepted. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the preceding question propounded by counsel.

Mr. RUIZ. I maintain the position that I expressed before to this committee, that is, that I do not believe that this committee has jurisdiction to investigate anyone in Puerto Rico.

Mr. TUCK. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the panel of witnesses we had for today. I respectfully suggest that the chairman announce that any witness who was subpenaed who has not thus far been heard will be heard tomorrow. They should be here at the time of convening of the committee, which I suggest to the chairman be ten o'clock.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair wishes to announce that, but before making that announcement, the Chair wishes to state again that any witness who was summoned to testify, and who did so who has not claimed his fee for attendance, may do so by filing a voucher with the clerk of the committee.

The committee will be in recess until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon at 4:45 p.m., Thursday, November 19, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Friday, November 20, 1959.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY AND PUERTO RICO

(San Juan, Puerto Rico—Part 2)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
San Juan, Puerto Rico.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m. in the United States Courthouse, Hon. William M. Tuck (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives William M. Tuck, of Virginia, and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams and William Margetich, investigators; Fulton Lewis III, research analyst.

Also present: Donald F. Barnes, senior interpreter, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will come to order. Counsel will call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, sir, will be Juan Santos Rivera.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, GERARDO ORTIZ DEL RIVERO,
PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI, AND MAX GOLDMAN (DONALD F.
BARNES, INTERPRETER)**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. My name is Juan Santos Rivera. I was born in the country of Betances, of Munoz Rivera de Hostos and Albizu

Campos. I live at No. 18 Segarra Street, Stop 27, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico. I am a carpenter.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I refuse to answer that question because I understand that this committee does not have the jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons already established in a document which has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, at this time I want to inform the committee that my name is Abraham Diaz Gonzalez. My address is 1556 Ponce de Leon Avenue; that I, together with Mr. Max Goldman, Mr. Leandri, and Mr. Del Rivero, are assisting the witness.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any other occupation besides the occupation of carpenter?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. No. I made an original statement under oath a few minutes ago, and I respectfully repeat it to the committee, that I don't think—I understand that the committee does not have jurisdiction to hold any investigations here in Puerto Rico and I, therefore, refuse to answer this question. The reasons for this position appear in the document which has already been presented for the consideration of the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, I expect, in the course of the next several minutes, to trace the highlights of your career in certain activities other than the carpenter trade. In order to do so, I expect to make reference to certain publications. The first publication which I want to allude to is the September 1959 issue of a publication on the island known as *Pueblo*.

Beginning on page 3, there is an article entitled "The Party of the Workers, Part XIV," by J. Santos Rivera. I shall lay before you now the original publication in Spanish of *Pueblo*, and then I shall read to you in English excerpts from that publication which have been translated in English.

Now, sir, if you will kindly glance at *Pueblo* in the Spanish while I read excerpts from this article, I will not try to read the entire article.

After attending the Seventh Congress of the Communist International as fraternal delegate of Puerto Rico, I remained in the Soviet Union for almost 2 years, 1935 to 1937, trying to understand, in practice and theory, what the people who are making up the U.S.S.R.—200 million, inhabiting one-sixth of the globe—have been able to achieve under the wise leadership of the Soviet Communist Party.

* * * * *

My conclusions are not inflated by an attempt to carry on propaganda in favor of my party and of my own Marxist ideology. * * *

Everyone can see for himself that in the Soviet Union there is—

And I will summarize at this point—there is plenty, that there is full educational facilities, religious freedom, no political discrimination, with the conclusion that abundance of democracy and freedom are enjoyed in all walks of life, and then a conclusion about the mortal wounds which will be inflicted upon the capitalistic system.

I have read certain parts of this article and summarized other parts of the article. I ask you now, sir, during the 2 years in which you were, according to your article, a resident of the Soviet Union, from

1935 to 1937, were you trained in the training schools of the Communist empire to assume leadership as an international agent of the international Communist conspiracy?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I respectfully refuse to answer, and insist that I will not answer this question because I understand that the committee has no jurisdiction to intervene in these matters for the reasons set forth in the document which has already been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

(Document marked "Santos Rivera Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, based—

Mr. TUCK. I think we should inform you that if there is any question in your mind as to the pertinency of the question which has been asked of you by counsel, we will be glad to inform you as to the purposes of the question and the counsel's right to ask it.

Also, I would say to you that the reasons which you have given for declining to answer counsel's question are not accepted by the committee, and you are ordered and directed to answer the question propounded by counsel.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I would like to very respectfully insist that I understand that this committee has no jurisdiction to intervene in the matters that are being considered in this hearing and that the reasons for this have already been set forth in the document which has been presented for the consideration of this committee.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, based upon information coming to this committee from intelligence sources, that you were so trained as an international Communist agent, schooled in Communist political warfare, and sent by the conspiracy back to San Juan, Puerto Rico, for the purpose of carrying on the nefarious work of the conspiracy against the free world.

If that is not a fact, please, sir, deny it while you are presently under oath.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. Very respectfully I insist that I will refuse to answer this question and any other which might be asked of me because I understand that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation for the reasons already set forth in the document which has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. TUCK. The committee is not satisfied with the reasons which the witness has assigned for his refusal to reply to questions asked by counsel. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I very respectfully once again insist that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold this investigation in Puerto Rico for the reasons which have already been given in the document which is already in the hands of this honorable committee.

Mr. SCHERER. I think there should be a direction there.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Tuck did.

Mr. TUCK. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, I intend to cause our record from Communist sources to reflect another stage in your career as an international agent of the Communist conspiracy. I invite your attention to an article by Cesar Andreu, appearing in Political Affairs of February 1951, in which Cesar Andreu is identified as chairman of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico and in which he writes an article entitled "The Rising

Tide of Struggle in Puerto Rico." I shall read to you only the first paragraph:

Two years ago I had the honor to attend the 14th Convention of the Communist Party of the United States as a fraternal delegate. I, together with the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, Comrade Juan Santos Rivera, feel greatly honored today to be with you again. We bring you, at this 15th Convention, the warmest greetings, not only of the Communist Party but of the working class of Puerto Rico.

Please confirm, while you are under oath, the characterization and identification of yourself made in this article by Cesar Andreu as then General Secretary of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I would like to repeat very respectfully that I will refuse to answer this question since I understand that the committee has no jurisdiction to intervene through this investigation in Puerto Rico for the reasons already stated in a document which has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

(Document marked "Santos Rivera Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TUCK. The chairman wishes to inform the witness that the committee is not satisfied with the reasons which he has assigned for refusing to answer the question and we do not accept the reasons.

He is ordered and directed to answer the question asked of him by the counsel of the committee.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. Very respectfully I would like to insist that I will refuse to answer this question because I understand that the committee has no jurisdiction to intervene through this hearing in the business of Puerto Rico, for the reasons already stated in the document which has been presented for the consideration of this honorable subcommittee of the Congress.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, from still another Communist source, I desire to make reference to another phase, another status, of your activity as reflected in the Communist press.

The Communist Daily Worker of May 20, 1954, of New York City, has an article entitled "Puerto Rico CP Adopts Liberation Front Policy." In the article appears the following:

"Our party has come out stronger and with a higher fighting spirit for carrying out the line adopted here."

A nine-member Central Committee was elected; among the members were * * *; Juan Santos, president; * * *.

Please, sir, while you are under oath, tell this committee, is the characterization and identification and designation of yourself in the Communist press of May 1954 as then president of the Central Committee true and correct?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I will insist that I refuse to answer this question because I understand that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings for the reasons that have already been expressed in a document that has been submitted to this honorable committee for its consideration.

(Document marked "Santos Rivera Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TUCK. I have no desire to be repetitious, but in order that the record may show the true facts, I am saying that the committee is not satisfied by the reasons assigned by the witness, and we do not accept the statement.

He is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I very respectfully insist that I will not answer this question because I understand that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons that appear in the document which has already been submitted to this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, I display to you a document which has just been picked up on the streets in the course of the last several days. It is in Spanish, attacking this committee. It is a leaflet. It bears a photograph of Juan Santos Rivera, president of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, according to the leaflet, and which leaflet was published and printed, according to the leaflet, at the offices of *Pueblo* here in San Juan.

In order that we may trace, then, your status as of October 23, 1959, the date of this publication, please glance at this publication, particularly the photograph and the designation under the photograph, and tell this committee whether or not you are truly and honestly characterized there.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. ARENS. State whether you are characterized properly as president of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I insist that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in San Juan and I, therefore, refuse to answer this question for the reasons already established in a document which has been submitted to this honorable committee.

(Document marked "Santos Rivera Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. Very respectfully, I insist that I will refuse to answer this question, understanding that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons already set forth in the document which has been submitted to this honorable committee.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, I invite your attention to an article by J. Santos Rivera, appearing in *Pueblo*, San Juan, in January of 1959, beginning on page 1.

I shall lay before you the original Spanish document, itself, and shall in English allude to certain of the language appearing in your article. I will allude to just two or three items in this article. The first is your charge in the article that the Government of the United States, by dropping an atom bomb on Hiroshima, had killed hundreds of thousands of innocent human beings; that the Government of the United States had ordered the electrocution of the Rosenbergs; that the Government of the United States wants to unleash another worldwide slaughter; and that such a government has no right to lament the sentencing in Cuba of the war criminals and the revolutionary justice which Cuba is now administering.

Please tell this committee, while you are under oath, if your statements appearing in the Communist publication *Pueblo*, attacking the Government of the United States and defending the operation in Cuba, were made in concert under the direction that you received from the hierarchy of the international Communist conspiracy.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I insist that I will not reply to this question, understanding that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons already set forth in the document that has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

(Document marked "Santos Rivera Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TUCK. For the reasons heretofore given, the committee orders and directs you to answer the question.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I insist very respectfully that I will not answer this question, understanding that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico according to the reasons that I gave to this honorable committee.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently maintain contacts with Communist agents operating in Cuba?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I insist that I will not answer this question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons that I have given in a document which has been presented to this committee.

Mr. TUCK. The reasons assigned by the witness are not acceptable. He is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I insist very respectfully that I will not answer this question, understanding that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons set forth in a document which has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, sir, in the course of the last several weeks, dispatch, first to Venezuela, and then to Cuba, on Communist missions, three persons who are now operating as Communist agents between the Communist Party of Puerto Rico and the Communist operation of Cuba?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I respectfully insist that I will not answer this question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons already set forth to this committee in a document bearing my signature.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I very respectfully insist that I will not answer this question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons already set forth in a document which has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Do you have any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you have said repeatedly that you are refusing to answer these questions asked of you by counsel for the reason that you feel this committee does not have any jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico. I am going to ask you whether or not you would answer particularly the question last asked you by Mr. Arens if it was asked you by the Police Department of the City of San Juan?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I insist very respectfully that I will not answer this question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction

to hold these hearings in San Juan, Puerto Rico, for the reasons already given in the document which has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand his position thoroughly.

I am going to ask you: If these questions were asked you by the representatives of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, whether you would answer the questions?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I respectfully insist once again that I will refuse to answer this question, understanding that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in San Juan for the reasons that have already been given in the document that has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to ask you again: If the Federal Bureau of Investigation asked you these questions that have been asked you by our counsel, would you answer the questions?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I very respectfully insist that I will refuse to answer this question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in San Juan, Puerto Rico, for the reasons already set forth in the document that has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you contend that neither the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Police Department of the City of San Juan, nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation has authority or jurisdiction to ask you these same questions?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I respectfully insist that I will refuse to answer this question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in San Juan for the reasons already set forth in the document that is being considered by this honorable committee.

Mr. SCHERER. You contend that the committee has no authority, according to your last statement and your previous statements, to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico. If you were subpoenaed to New York City, would you answer these questions in a hearing before this committee?

Mr. SANTOS RIVERA. I insist that I refuse to answer this question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons already established in the document which has been submitted for the consideration of this honorable committee.

Mr. TUCK. The witness may stand aside.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, will be Deputy United States Marshal Diego L. Martin, Jr.

Please remain standing, Marshal, while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. TUCK. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARTIN. I swear, sir.

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, there are several other witnesses which have been subpoenaed. I want to know if we are going to continue the hearings this afternoon.

Mr. ARENS. We will go right on until we conclude all witnesses who are under subpoena.

TESTIMONY OF DIEGO L. MARTIN, JR.

MR. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

MR. MARTIN. My name is Diego L. Martin, Jr. I am a Deputy United States Marshal for the District of Puerto Rico. I live in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

MR. ARENS. How long have you been engaged as a Deputy United States Marshal?

MR. MARTIN. Thirteen years, sir.

MR. ARENS. During the course of your 13 years' experience as a United States Marshal, you have, of course, developed an intimate knowledge of the techniques of surveillance and have developed confidential sources of information?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. I will, of course, not ask you in this public session to reveal any of your confidential sources of information or techniques. It is something that we will, of course, guard jealously.

Marshal, did you in the course of the last few months receive from the Committee on Un-American Activities for service a number of subpoenas?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. Among the subpoenas which the committee sent to you for service, transmitted to you for service on people to appear here in this series of hearings, was there a subpoena for Juan A. Corretjer?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir; Antonio.

MR. ARENS. Was there likewise a subpoena for service by yourself on a person by the name of Eugenio Arbona Cuevas?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. Was there likewise a subpoena for service by yourself on a person by the name of Ramon Mirabal Carrion?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. Did you, in the discharge of your duties as the Deputy United States Marshal, undertake to locate these people?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir. During the course of my investigation to serve these witnesses, I found out that Juan Antonio Corretjer was in Caracas, Venezuela, and that later he returned to San Juan and went to Cuba. As to the other two witnesses, Eugenio Arbona Cuevas and Ramon Mirabal Carrion, I found out that they were in Cuba.

MR. ARENS. Your information came to you from investigative sources of unimpeachable integrity and reliability?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. By devices and techniques which would not be prudent to disclose in a public session?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. Are these three persons, notwithstanding their present locale in Cuba, are these three persons nevertheless persons who are residents of Puerto Rico?

MR. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

MR. TUCK. The witness may stand aside.

MR. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Cristino Perez Mendez.

Mr. TUCK. Would you raise your right hand?

You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PEREZ MENDEZ. I swear.

Mr. TUCK. Counsel, before you proceed to examine the witness, I would like to file with the committee a letter which we received this morning from a person in Puerto Rico in which he alleges that 15, or more than half of the 29 persons who signed the protest advertisement against this committee coming to Puerto Rico are non-Puerto Ricans.

I would like to ask the staff to determine whether or not that is true.

(Document retained in committee files.)

TESTIMONY OF CRISTINO PEREZ MENDEZ, ACCCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, MAX GOLDMAN, AND PRAXELES ALVEREZ LEANDRI (DONALD F. BARNES, INTERPRETER)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PEREZ MENDEZ. My name is Cristino Perez Mendez. I live in Building 58, Apartment 1111, of the Caserio Luis Llorens Torres, and I am a carpenter.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. PEREZ MENDEZ. I refuse to answer that question, understanding that this committee has no jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico for the reasons that appear in a document which you have.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ. Yes, sir. At this time I want the record to show that Mr. Abraham Diaz Gonzalez, 1556 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Santurce; Mr. Max Goldman; and Mr. Praxeles Leandri will go on record as assisting the witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, I want to pose to you, confront you with certain information which has come to this committee from its investigative sources and ask you, while you are under oath, to please respond to the questions and give the Government of the United States such information as you have on the subject matter.

It is the information of this committee that you are part of a group of 12 activists of the Communist conspiracy in Puerto Rico, of the more fanatical fringe, who are dedicated to pursue a course of activity, with no restraint whatsoever, in accordance with any directive received.

Please now, while you are under oath, either affirm or deny the validity of that information.

Mr. PEREZ MENDEZ. I refuse to answer this question and any others because I understand that the committee has no jurisdiction to hold hearings in Puerto Rico and to investigate me for the reasons that appear in the document which you have.

MR. ARENS. It is the information of this committee that you have received, along with some others, specialized training by the Communist Party in revolutionary techniques of force and violence.

While you are under oath, please affirm or deny the validity of that information.

MR. PEREZ MENDEZ. I refuse to answer this question and all others that you may ask because I understand that you do not have any jurisdiction to hold these hearings in Puerto Rico, and even less to investigate me, and my reasons are set forth in a document which you have already.

MR. TUCK. The committee declines to accept the reasons given by the witness for his failure to respond to the last preceding question, as well as the question prior thereto, and the committee orders and directs the witness now to answer both questions propounded by counsel.

MR. PEREZ MENDEZ. I will not answer this question asked by you because I think that this committee has no jurisdiction to ask me any questions, and even less to hold hearings in Puerto Rico, for the reasons that I have given you in the document which you have.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Witness, so that this record may be abundantly clear, I should like to make a statement.

This Committee on Un-American Activities is attempting to develop factual information which will enable it to discharge its legislative duties to maintain a continuing surveillance over the administration and operation of the internal security laws, and to suggest amendments or changes, legislative proposals, to the United States Congress.

This Committee on Un-American Activities is confident that you presently have information respecting current Communist activities and designs here in Puerto Rico, and from Puerto Rico to certain other areas in the Caribbean.

I expect in a moment to ask you a simple question, namely, are you now a member of the Communist Party. If you will give us a full and truthful answer to that question, I then expect to try to elicit from you information respecting your knowledge of Communist techniques, Communist activities in Puerto Rico and in the Caribbean, so that this committee may take that information on this record back to Washington to use it for its legislative purposes.

If there is any phase of this inquiry which you do not understand, the pertinency or relevancy of any question, if you have any doubt in your mind about anything pertaining to this proceeding, just ask and I will be glad to give you a full and detailed explanation.

With that background, I will ask you: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

MR. PEREZ MENDEZ. I refuse to answer this question. I understand that this committee has no jurisdiction to investigate anybody in Puerto Rico for the reasons set forth in a document that you have.

MR. TUCK. For the reasons heretofore given, the witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

MR. PEREZ MENDEZ. The witness refuses to answer this question, understanding that you do not have any jurisdiction to investigate me or anybody else in Puerto Rico for the reasons appearing in a document which you already have.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. TUCK. Are there any questions?

The witness may stand aside.

Mr. ARENS. May we have a 5-minute recess?

Mr. TUCK. The committee will be in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken, with the following members of the sub-committee present: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will come to order.

Are there any further witnesses, counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, although there are other witnesses who have been subpoenaed for this proceeding, there are no other witnesses whom we at this time desire to interrogate.

I respectfully suggest, therefore, that the Chair before making your closing remarks, let our record reflect that the witnesses who have not been heard and who have been subpoenaed, are not to be heard and are released from their subpoenas for appearance in this proceeding.

Mr. TUCK. I will state that the witnesses who have been subpoenaed and who have not been heard are released from their subpoenas. They may, of course, file their vouchers with the clerk of this committee for their appearance and for their expenses in attending the committee.

In concluding the hearings here in San Juan, I should like to make a few brief observations respecting the significance and accomplishments of this particular investigation.

In the first place, we have seen both in New York City and here in San Juan a pattern of Communist activities and techniques which verifies and confirms similar patterns which we have been observing elsewhere.

While many of the witnesss who have appeared before the committee have not answered questions, have refused to answer the questions, nevertheless there has been developed here new and convincing evidence regarding the problem of Communist propaganda. Communism derives much of its force and power from its ideology. It has long been the position of the Committee on Un-American Activities that our laws should be strengthened to require the labeling of Communist poisonous propaganda, in the same manner that our laws require the labeling of poisonous drugs before they may be sold.

As I stated in opening these hearings, we have not tried to probe beyond the development of facts which show patterns of Communist operation. We have not sought to run down all possible leads. We do believe, however, that the evidence which we have developed in these sessions adds materially to the fund of information already available and required by the committee as a foundation for legislative action.

There is a collateral result of these hearings, moreover, which I believe will have a salutary and important effect, namely, to again emphasize that the Communist Party operation is real; it is a continuing, menacing, dynamic force of intrigue and subversion. Communism is not merely a philosophical concept. It is a scheme for total regimentation and enslavement of every mind and body in the entire world.

We will return to Washington with the information which has been developed in New York City and here and use it as part of the fund

of knowledge which we are gaining to assist us in the discharge of our duties as Representatives in Congress which, under a mandate of the Congress, are, in essence, to maintain a continuing surveillance over the operation of our various security laws and to recommend, when necessary, amendments or new laws.

The committee, in its session a few moments ago, has authorized the chairman to respectfully request the full committee at their first meeting to be held early in January 1960 to cite for contempt of this committee those persons whose names the clerk will now read.

Mr. MARGETICH. Jose Enamorado Cuesta, Ramon Diaz Cruz, Manuel Arroyo Zeppenfeldt, Cristino Perez Mendez, Juan Saez Corales, Juan Emmanuel Morales, Consuelo Burgos De Pagan, Pablo M. Garcia Rodriguez, John Peter Hawes, Cesar Andreu Iglesias, Juan Santos Rivera, Frank Ruiz, and Gertrudis Melendez Perez.

Mr. TUCK. Before continuing further and before concluding, I would like to express the gratitude of the chairman and the members of the committee, as well as their counsel and members of the staff, to all of the officials here who have cooperated with the committee and to thank them for their numerous courtesies.

In particular, we would like to thank Judge Clementes Ruiz Nazario and the United States Clerk, Mrs. Pons; the United States Marshal, Mr. Buxo, and his deputies; the Superintendent of Internal Police of San Juan and his able assistants; the police force and all others who have been cooperative and helpful to us.

I would like to include also among that number the Collector of Customs, Mr. Lopez-Dominguez, and the Inspector of Customs and his staff, Mr. Acosta.

We thank all other good citizens for their kindness to us during our stay here in Puerto Rico.

I will now call on the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, Congressman Scherer, for any statement that he might have to make at this point.

Mr. SCHERER. In my closing remarks I want to deal with two or three incidents that took place during the hearings which, in my opinion, have considerable significance.

At the beginning of these hearings I made reference to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the part that it has played in the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities in the past and here in San Juan.

“Emergency Civil Liberties Committee” is an attractive, appealing, and high-sounding name. It was adopted by the organizers of this particular committee for the purpose of deceiving people as to its true identity and purpose. Two committees of the Congress, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, after careful study and investigation, have found that this committee is a Communist-front organization; and that it is today dominated and controlled by the Communist apparatus.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has issued a publication entitled “Operation Abolition” which documents, among other things, the fact that the present chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Harvey O’Connor, is an identified Communist presently under indictment; that Frank Wilkinson, who is the moving force behind this committee, has for many years served the

Communist conspiracy in numerous and sundry ways; that he is a Communist and has been recently convicted and sentenced for contempt of Congress by reason of his refusal to answer questions concerning his Communist activities. This report lists the Communist and Communist-front records of many of the leaders of this organization.

The record shows that three of the objectives of this committee are: (1) to destroy the Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; (2) to curb and weaken the powers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to discredit its great director, J. Edgar Hoover; and (3) to bring about the repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, and other security legislation.

In an attempt to accomplish its first objective, this Communist-controlled committee has sent its cohorts into cities throughout the United States in advance of hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Its paid agents have done everything possible in advance of and during such hearings to stir up animosity, contempt, and hatred for this congressional investigating committee. Its agents have circulated petitions; appeared on radio programs; set up meetings, rallies, and picket lines; issued press releases; and placed ads in newspapers. In all these instances the Committee on Un-American Activities has been viciously attacked, ridiculed, and denounced. Its purposes and procedures have been distorted and misrepresented.

These paid hirelings of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee have met with identified Communists who have been subpoenaed as witnesses before the committee. They have, among other things, instructed them how to bait the committee and disrupt the hearings while on the witness stand.

Mr. Clark Foreman is one of their principal advance agents. He has previously appeared in other cities where the Committee on Un-American Activities has conducted hearings and engaged in activities I have here described. He has been here in San Juan for at least a week prior to these hearings. He is in San Juan today. He has been in the court room during these hearings. His activities here in San Juan have followed a pattern similar to those in which he has engaged on previous occasions.

One can only speculate as to the effect his activities have had on the picketing that has taken place here in San Juan, the haranguing of the committee and its staff by the demonstrators who have spat on our automobiles as we arrived at this United States Court House. We can only speculate as to what part, if any, Foreman has played in the organized shoutings that have taken place, from time to time, outside this court room in an attempt to disrupt these hearings and intimidate members of the United States Congress.

Now while the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has a constitutional right to do some of these things, even to the extent of misrepresenting the facts about the House Committee on Un-American Activities, we in turn as members of the Congress have a right and duty to point out to the people of Puerto Rico the fact that this committee with its high-sounding name is nothing more or less than a completely Communist-dominated and controlled apparatus. We have a right to tell you what the real and true objectives of this group are so

that the people of this commonwealth and the rest of the United States may better evaluate the real motives behind this committee's activities and the charges made by it against the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

At the Tuesday afternoon session of these hearings, I stated that I had been reliably informed by two reputable members of the Puerto Rican Bar that Clark Foreman had assisted in preparing documents and recommending strategy used by hostile witnesses subpoenaed before this committee, as he had done in other instances. You will recall that, at the time I made this assertion, the lawyers representing the hostile witnesses, led by Abraham Gonzalez, indignantly and loudly contended that the information given to the committee by two members of the Bar was a lie. One of the six counsel shouted that he had never heard of nor seen Clark Foreman. They claimed their professional reputations had been impugned, etc., etc.

Basically there is nothing wrong in any lawyer accepting help in the preparation of a matter in which he is involved as counsel. Lawyers do it all the time. They would be derelict in their duty to their clients if they did not take advantage of any information or suggestions that were made by a person of experience who was in a position to assist.

By the publicity that has been given this matter in the daily press and, further, in view of the fact that these lawyers by their actions and what they have said both in and out of the hearing room make it appear that they had been in some way maligned, it is my feeling that the record should reflect the true situation by setting forth some things that do not appear in the transcript of the testimony.

When I pointed out that I had been informed by two members of the Bar that Foreman had assisted in preparing documents and recommending strategy used by hostile witnesses, I did so with no intention of impugning the integrity of counsel in this case, but I did so solely for the purpose of showing a pattern of conduct which was being followed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, not only here in San Juan, but in other places, to hamper and disrupt the hearings. This record should show that, at the conclusion of the hearing at which the foregoing incidents took place, Mr. Abraham Gonzalez, chief attorney for the hostile witnesses, voluntarily came up to the bench after the hearings had been recessed and said that Clark Foreman had come to his office and that he had talked with him a few days before the hearings. Mr. Gonzalez reiterated that Clark Foreman had nothing to do with the preparation of the briefs.

I then asked Mr. Gonzalez what was the purpose of Mr. Foreman's visit to his law offices and what was said by Mr. Foreman. Mr. Gonzalez refused to answer these questions.

I think the record should further disclose that the next morning Mr. Gonzalez repeated to this committee and its staff, in the presence of four of his co-counsel, that he had talked with Foreman in his law office about the hearings, but again Mr. Gonzalez refused to tell the committee the circumstances under which Mr. Foreman had come to his office, the purpose of his visit, and what Mr. Foreman had said during the visit.

Now, as I said, I see nothing wrong in Mr. Gonzalez' talking to anyone whom he felt could be helpful to him or his clients in any way in the preparation for the hearing. He would be derelict in his duty if he did not do so. My complaint is that, when Mr. Gonzalez indignantly and loudly charged that the information given me was a lie and one of his co-counsel shouted that he did not know, nor had he ever seen, Clark Foreman, Mr. Gonzalez acted in bad faith in not disclosing at that moment in the hearing room and for the record that Clark Foreman had consulted him about these hearings in his law offices; that the impression was purposely created, both in the hearing room and later in Mr. Gonzalez' attack on the committee in the press, that he had nothing whatsoever to do with Foreman, that counsel for the witnesses did not even know Foreman or why he was in Puerto Rico.

The record was clear from what I had said earlier in the hearings that my purpose was to reveal the activities and motives of Clark Foreman and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and not to reflect on counsel in this case. It is obvious, however, that counsel saw an opportunity when I pointed out Foreman's participation to twist what I said as a reflection on counsel's integrity.

I think the record should also disclose that most of the counsel who appeared on behalf of the hostile witnesses are members of a Civil Rights Committee of the Puerto Rican Bar Association; that this committee prepared a resolution prior to these hearings in San Juan and presented it to the Puerto Rican Bar Association; that this resolution which asked that the hearings not be held is a condemnation of the Committee on Un-American Activities and contains many false statements concerning the committee and its procedures; that Mr. Gonzalez was one of the leaders and spokesman in presenting this resolution and urging its adoption by the Bar Association; that the Bar Association rejected this resolution; that the Bar Association did approve a resolution or request that members of the Bar Association's Committee on Civil Rights represent at these hearings such witnesses who requested representation.

I think it should be further noted in the record that two representatives of the Board of Governors of the Puerto Rican Bar Association voluntarily called upon the committee and stated that they wanted the committee to know that the Board of Governors of the Bar Association was not opposed to the Committee on Un-American Activities; that they were not opposed to its conducting hearings in Puerto Rico; and that they were of the opinion that the committee had legal authority to conduct hearings.

Mr. GILBERT CONCEPCION DE GRACIA. I am the president of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Bar Association [of Puerto Rico], and I would like to send this committee also a copy of the resolution that was approved by the Bar Association, where the Bar Association said that the Bar Association congratulated the Civil Liberties Committee for its resolution, and appointed a staff of lawyers which was recommended by the Civil Liberties Committee.

Mr. TUCK. You may file the statement with the clerk of the committee.

Mr. SCHERER. Let it be understood that he is talking about a different resolution than the one I am talking about.

Mr. GILBERT CONCEPCION DE GRACIA. I have the resolution here, the same he is talking about, I think.

Mr. ARENS. There are no further proceedings which we care to submit for this record.

Mr. TUCK. The hearing in San Juan will now be adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 10:55 a.m., Friday, November 20, 1959, the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of adjournment: Representatives Tuck and Scherer.)

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